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DO
Your Personality—

INTROVERT OR
EXTRAVERT?

by

VIRGINIA CASE

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1942

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Since the publication of "Psychological Types" by the Swiss psychiatrist, Carl Gustav Jung, the terms "introvert" and "extravert" which he was the first to apply to types of temperament, have become familiar. Yet Dr. Jung's students are amazed to discover that not only the public but psychologists often make careless use of Jungian terms with only the vaguest idea, or in some cases an erroneous idea, of their fundamental meaning.

It is with the hope of correcting current misunderstanding and of making available to the general public the helpful practical knowledge of human nature which Jung's work supplies in abundance, that this book is offered. Dr. Jung has read it in manuscript form and has consented to its publication.

CHAPTER 1

THE TWO TYPES OF PEOPLE

Have you ever wished that your wife (or husband) talked less?

Have you wondered why certain people whom you love are secretive about their thoughts and feelings although they realize your sincere interest? Have you ever been hurt because a friend in trouble withdrew into himself, seeming to prefer to bear his suffering alone rather than to let you share it?

Do peppy people bore you? Have you ever felt that very talkative and enthusiastic people were insincere?

Do you know the real reason for the adage which says of love affairs that "opposites attract"?

Do you agree that silence is golden, speech only silver? Have you been amazed at the freedom with which strangers sometimes discuss their intimate affairs?

Has it occurred to you that the continuous war waged between materialists and idealists never comes to a decision?

Have you wondered why some criminals break down and confess their crimes under questioning, while others, convicted on unimpeachable evidence, go to death maintaining a stolid silence or a stubborn denial?

Have you ever wished that you could restrain your impulse to talk or act on the spur of the moment? On the

other hand, have you wished that you were less deliberate in speech and action?

Many of these questions have occurred at some time to every thinking person. For through the ages men have recognized types of temperament, the talkative and the taciturn, the calm and the effervescent, the serious and the sprightly. The ancients classified them as sanguine and phlegmatic and modern psychiatrists call them schizoid and cycloid. In art and science they are sometimes described as classic and romantic and in philosophy as the rough-minded and the tender-minded. For the moment let us call them the reserved and the demonstrative.

The novelist J. B. Priestley has described the contrasting types in card players. In a public hall crowded with men and women players, he noticed that "There were two distinct types among the men: The solid hearty chaps who sat bolt upright, puffing out clouds of smoke and banged each card down, as if sheer force might win the trick; and the little thin cunning fellows who sank down and down and half-closed their eyes as they played, like so many Nibelungs." *

In most people temperament is the most conspicuous feature of personality. Indeed it is quite impossible to describe a person without indicating his temperament and for this reason vivacious girls, strong silent men, jolly fat shopkeepers and lean, bespectacled booklovers are as familiar in fiction as in real life.

Many people unfamiliar with the principles upon which modern interpretations of temperamental type rest, object to any attempt to classify temperament, on the assumption that the infinite variety of human personality cannot be

* "English Journey," by J. B. Priestley, Harper and Brothers, p. 80.

reduced to types. Although it is true that no personality can be reduced to a pure type, nevertheless every personality is based upon a type and that basis can no more be ignored than can one's sex, nationality or age. To specify that a person is male, English and forty years of age is not to describe him, yet no description would be complete without these specifications. The modern concept of types, which is to be explained here, is only a more precise and accurate formulation of the intuitions of astute observers throughout the ages from Hippocrates to Shakespeare, from William Blake the mystic, to Ivan Petrovitch Pavlov the physiologist.

An interesting study of the types by a European scientist is the well-known work of Ernst Kretschmer who has correlated body build and temperament. Kretschmer discovered that men and women have not only two general types of temperament but two or three general types of physique which correspond. By investigating large numbers of sane and insane people he discovered that in general, the tall, lean people whom he calls leptosome, are of reserved temperament while the stockier, deep-chested, big-stomached people, a type which he calls pyknic, are demonstrative. Kretschmer's work is among the best known in this field and his findings have been corroborated by a number of other researchers.

In his book, "Physique and Character" (Harcourt, Brace & Co.), Kretschmer quotes Shakespeare's lines from "Julius Caesar" (Act I, Scene 2) in which Caesar says:

Let me have men about me that are fat;
Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights;
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.
.....
Would he were fatter!

Kretschmer's researches indicate that Shakespeare's intuition about lean and fat people was generally correct.

One of the most interesting of modern observations on the psychological types is that of Pavlov who discovered, in his years of work with animals, these two types in dogs. In his remarkable studies of conditioned reflexes he noticed such striking contrasts in his experiments with different animals that he found it necessary to make allowance for these temperamental contrasts. This led to the discovery of the temperamental types in dogs which Pavlov classified in the antique manner as sanguine and phlegmatic, the former corresponding to the demonstrative and the latter to the reserved type. Pavlov identified four types, two nervously instable, and two normal which he called sanguine and phlegmatic. We are concerned here only with the normal. He says: "There are two forms: quiet, self-contained, sedate animals, ignoring everything about them; and on the other hand animals which . . . are very lively and active, running here and there." (*Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes*, p. 376, International Publishers, N. Y.)

Struck by the similarity of temperament in dogs and men, Pavlov concludes his remarks on types with the statement: "It seems to me that in this thousand-year-old question of temperaments, the laboratory by virtue of the elementary and simple nature of its experimental objects, has an important and unequivocal contribution to make." (p. 378).

Pavlov's work is particularly significant because, as a physiologist, his interest centered in pure experiment and he undertook his researches with no psychological theories whatever. It was only because the temperamental dif-

ferences of his experimental animals influenced his work to such a marked degree, that Pavlov was compelled to acknowledge the importance of temperament in canine behavior. From a purely scientific point of view there is no more compelling evidence of the importance of the types than the work of Pavlov. Life Magazine^{1*} has reported interesting experiments with barnyard animals which the scientists have classified as introverts or extraverts.

Yet despite the fact that many writers have recognized and commented on the two types of men and women, their lack of insight into the process underlying temperamental differences has fostered many errors and contradictions. Out of the chaos of conjectures, assumptions and intuitions about the types of human nature, Carl Gustav Jung, the Swiss psychiatrist, has brought the order which only a sound theoretical interpretation can create. By his discovery of a law which comprehends all phases of the problem, resolving all the discrepancies, Dr. Jung is able to explain not only the basic temperamental but also the basic intellectual differences which have been an enigma to thinking people of all ages.

He calls the two types extraverts and introverts, founding his law not upon superficial details of personality but on the basic mental attitude of the individual, his habitual mode of adaptation. Jung's explanation gives systematic insight into many quirks of human nature hitherto incomprehensible, by referring a number of apparently unrelated habits of thought and action to a basic psychological principle.

Earlier theories offered partial explanations or they

* All notes in Appendix page 273.

explained certain aspects of the observed differences in the types, but no other theory explains the temperamental differences on a basis of the whole attitude of the individual. For that reason Jung's, of all typologies, is the most accurate and the most fruitful of practical understanding, which may explain why his terms extravert and introvert have gained currency, despite the confusion which surrounds their fundamental meaning.

Not only because of its scientific value but because of its practical utility and its promise of better understanding between man and man, Jung's work deserves to be more widely understood. Let us begin by reviewing some of the ideas of people who, to judge by their published work, failed to gain that understanding.

It is perhaps inevitable that many of the observers of temperamental differences should go astray in their deductions, some of which are so wide of the mark as to be almost incredible. For example, two researchers at Harvard² assumed that introvert college students would be so immersed in their own affairs as to take no interest in campus gossip. The sponsors of this theory prepared a questionnaire to test familiarity with current gossip, which they believed would reveal that extraverts are well-informed, introverts ill-informed of the doings of fellow students. The test revealed no such difference for the reason that everyone, regardless of his type, is interested in the affairs of his fellows. Only a mental defective or otherwise abnormal young person would be indifferent to the gossip of his community.

Another odd proposal was that of a psychologist who has done other work in this field.³ He posited a difference in the "content and essential nature of the conditions

habitually controlling attention" and assumed that likes and dislikes are a fair indication of established attention-conditions. This line of thought led him to conclude that introverts would be able to do good work in English literature, extraverts poor work. Although it is unwise to attempt to judge the psychological type of historical personages exclusively from their writings, there is hardly a doubt that Sir Francis Bacon was an extravert, and it is more than likely that Shakespeare was extraverted too. One of Bacon's most celebrated essays, "On Friendship," is so extraverted in its viewpoint as to leave little doubt concerning its author's psychological type. Another writer whose work expresses the extraverted viewpoint was Goethe. Both these men did a good grade of work in literature as did H. G. Wells and the late Arnold Bennett, two modern writers who seem to be extraverts, although this is merely opinion. Extraversion and introversion give writers different points of view which are revealed to some extent in their writing. But extraversion and introversion have not the slightest connection with literary or any other form of artistic or intellectual ability.

Another peculiar theory is that extraversion and introversion are determined by a supposed body chemical called "X," possibly a glandular product.⁴ According to this theory an introvert could be made into an extravert by the simple process of increasing his supply of "X," or possibly the converse would be true. In any event, the transformation of one type into the other would be simply a matter of increasing or decreasing one's supply of "X," just as the transformation of a poor man into a rich one would be simply a matter of increasing his supply of money.

But the top of absurdity was reached in a study in which it was "determined" that painful menstruation elicits "introversive" responses; in short that people in pain are introverted or at least more introverted than well people.⁵ According to this line of reasoning the place to study introverts is the hospital. This study, undertaken at the University of Oregon, is an interesting illustration of the absurdities into which even educated people, ungrounded in theory, have fallen. As a matter of fact, health and disease have no more to do with extraversion and introversion than the latter have to do with poverty or wealth. Yet it appears that some psychologists are handicapped in their investigations by the idea that introversion is to some degree a morbid or inferior state, an idea which is without foundation.

Nevertheless, their persistent interest in the type problem in the face of the unfruitfulness of their experiments indicates a healthy intellectual curiosity. These teachers and researchers undoubtedly realize the importance of a knowledge of the basic types of human nature, a knowledge which affords great insight into life and mind as well as great practical advantage in dealing with people.

The adventure connected with gaining this insight is somewhat different from other adventures into the realm of knowledge. For example, we usually acquire knowledge through the intellectual process alone; certainly we learn history and mathematics in this way. But we learn about life not entirely through the acquisition of knowledge but through a sort of growth process which engages the whole self, emotional as well as intellectual. This sort of learning is more than an intellectual episode; it is a development, it is an experience; it is education in the profoundest

sense, as distinguished from the learning of facts. An experience of this kind involves more than learning new facts or systems of ideas: it is an evolutionary process which leaves us forever somewhat altered. This is because in such a process the total personality is involved. For underneath the intellectual process there is another, a slow process of growth which cannot be hastened but must follow its own course. This course can be predicted in advance, at least in some people.

A number of people, among them the author, have found their interest in and study of the types of human nature following such a general course of development as this:

In the first or skeptical stage there is a resistance to the whole idea of the psychological types. Either the attempt to trace out two basic tendencies underlying the infinite variety of individual temperaments appears nonsensical, or the classification itself appears artificial, arbitrary or unimportant.

In the second or pessimistic stage, having realized from his own experience the extraordinary practical value of the classification, the student becomes pessimistic over the very existence of such a profound contrast in temperament and point of view. He sees the types as a mistake of nature, a mischievous confounding of human relationships, so fundamental as to nullify all attempts at mutual understanding between individuals.

Gradually the pessimism of the second stage gives place to a third stage in which the student develops a profound admiration for the opposite type. It is astonishing that an extravert who has only recently succeeded in freeing his mind from its natural prejudice against introversion, next

passes through a state in which he imputes to introverts all manner of superiorities and virtues which he presumes to be lacking in his own type. He becomes an introvert enthusiast, as it were, profoundly impressed with the value of that point of view. As if to compensate for his original ignorance of any viewpoint save his own, the extravert conceives an exaggerated appreciation for the opposite type, and the same is often true of introverts newly aware of the extravert principle.

The last step in this educational experience should involve a liberation from either extreme so that the student may view extraversion and introversion as two sides of the same thing, that is the process of adaptation; as two points of view of equal merit, standing on absolute psychological parity. He then views them as complementary tendencies equally indispensable in psychological economy.

This is an interesting growth process and it is suggested that the reader take it into account during his reading and study of temperamental types. The course of development outlined may not be invariable but I have indicated it in the hope that readers will take notice of their own progress and judge for themselves whether the course which I have outlined seems to them correct or incorrect in the light of their experience.

The fact that experts have fallen into grave errors in their study of the types might lead the reader to suppose that the study is a difficult one. Although it would be idle to deny that this or any other subject having to do with a fundamental understanding of human nature, is so simple as to require no intellectual effort on the part of the reader, the truth is that an open mind rather than learning or great effort is requisite for this understanding. That is

because the reader's interest in and insight into this phase of human nature will depend less upon his formal education than upon his life's experience and his freedom from preconception.

Indeed the various difficulties which various readers are likely to encounter will not be, as a rule, intellectual. These difficulties will be largely the product, first of their own original point of view which depends upon their own type, and second, of their past life experience. Hence my task is not merely that of leading the mind through a certain sequence of explanation but of dealing with those implicit convictions which influence every reader.

For example, if the reader happens to be an extravert who has had an unfortunate personal relation with an introvert he is likely to be unsympathetic with the introvert standpoint and doubtful of its merits, although he may realize fully that the fault lies in the weakness of the individual and not in introversion itself. Likewise an introvert reader who has formed an unhappy association with an extravert, may bring to his study of the extravert point of view the same natural bias. Other and more subtle lights and shades cast by experience will play upon the subject, lights and shades which would have little effect on such purely intellectual pursuits as the study of geology or mathematics. Because this handicap is at once a lure and a danger in this particular field, I feel bound to point it out in the hope that foreknowledge will counterweigh the handicap.

Meanwhile the reader is waiting for an introduction to the types, waiting to see how they look and act so that he may compare them with himself and with his friends.

CHAPTER 2

HOW THE TYPES LOOK TO THE WORLD FOUR PORTRAIT SKETCHES

The reader must be warned at the outset that the following sketches are mere outlines. Obviously it is impossible to draw an accurate portrait sketch of a type of personality for the reason that a portrait is the likeness of a specific individual, while a type necessarily represents a class, a generalization.

In strict accuracy therefore, it is impossible to describe a typical extravert or introvert personality, just as it is impossible to describe a typical masculine or feminine personality. There are endless variations in the personalities of extraverts and introverts, just as there are endless variations in the personalities of men and women.

Yet despite the obscuring of type structure by the intricate fretwork of individuality, it seems possible to offer some portrait sketches which may serve a useful purpose in illustrating salient differences between extraverts and introverts. They will resemble composite photographs which, however blurred and indefinite, indicate some lineaments which individuals have in common and offer a basis of comparison with the reader's own observation of human nature. Nevertheless he should remember that such composite descriptions suffer from a number of serious defects, among them the defect inherent

in descriptions of the "average man," the "typical" Britisher or American. A portrait of a type is truly a portrait of nobody. There are other objections to attempts to portray types of temperament, but for the moment this objection is the one which I urge the reader to apply most sternly to the descriptions which follow.

The subjects of the following sketches are people under forty years of age. They are ordinary, naive people, not those rare individuals who either from native insight or ceaseless study of themselves and their fellow men have achieved a superior understanding of life.

The first portrait sketch is of an extraverted woman. Mrs. Ex is a normal, decidedly extraverted person of thirty. Almost everybody from senator to janitor finds her genial, responsive and something of a chatterbox. She enjoys a house full of guests and indeed is hardly herself without company. As a girl she was the life of parties and now her bravura charm adds spirit and color to the social scene.

When it is necessary for her to remain at home alone she carries on extended telephone conversations in which she discusses personal affairs at length, often for half an hour or more. She is frank in discussing herself, her ideas, emotions and general viewpoint; her forthright manner bespeaks her wish to be understood by everybody.

Any fret or distress arouses in Mrs. Ex an immediate need for communication. If her child falls ill or her cook decamps she unbosoms herself immediately, looking to her friends for consolation and advice, which she does not necessarily follow. Far from suffering in silence, she suffers as publicly as possible and as explicitly. But although she weeps freely when misfortune falls, she is in

no sense a trouble monger; indeed she is usually exceedingly cheerful, especially in company. She publishes her joys as freely as her sorrows and defeats, and most of the time appears to have not a care in the world.

She seems to wear her heart upon her sleeve, not that she is unable to conceal her thoughts and emotions when discretion requires concealment, but for her concealment is an irksome task, seldom worth the effort it costs. Sad or gay, elated or depressed, Mrs. Ex lets people know exactly how she feels and why. She expresses decided likes and dislikes, enthusiasms and antipathies; indeed she is given to exaggeration at times. She loves variety, novelty and new sensations. She is eager to make new friends and anxious for social diversion.

Furthermore she appears to take an interest in almost everyone with whom she happens to come in contact. She expresses solicitude for everyone's comfort and pleasure and is full of gay inconsequential talk. At times her badinage may become a little wearing but there is a cheerful, comfortable quality in her personality, a breezy casual air which seems to say, "Nothing matters much, why worry?" Alert and responsive, she seems agog for everything that goes on around her.

Mrs. Ex has a friend, Mrs. Inn, who is a normal, decidedly introverted woman of thirty. Although people who know Mrs. Inn well are devoted to her, her lack of small talk and air of reserve make her appear more serious and less friendly than Mrs. Ex. The preliminary known as "breaking the ice" is necessary on first meeting her, a formality readily dispensed with in the case of Mrs. Ex. Although Mrs. Inn never lacked dancing partners as a girl, she was quiet and demure rather than dashing and

convivial. Her charm, then as now, was implied rather than expressed, at least in the presence of strangers.

To all but her intimates, Mrs. Inn's emotional life appears as unruffled as a cup of tea. Her smoothly glazed exterior sometimes causes inexperienced people to imagine her to be impervious to enthusiasm or despair, to joy or grief. Here is a grave misjudgment; the outside of a thing is not necessarily identical with the inside of it. Yet her sparse references to her own emotions and personal problems might lead the unsuspecting to assume that she has none. However, strange as it may seem, just as a very successful man is the one least likely to boast about his success, so the person who feels emotion most deeply is often the one least likely to parade it.

When she is greatly worried or distressed, Mrs. Inn denies herself to all but her intimate friends. Even to them she finds it impossible to express herself. She may be glad to have them there beside her but she cannot tell them so. Anxiety seals her away from others as if deep emotion had struck her dumb. It is as if all her energy were drained away from her relationship to other people and turned inward to sustain her in her lonely struggle to overcome her distress. Her need for quiet self-communion at times of severe stress is not caused by unwillingness to accept the help or sympathy of others; it is a complete inability to do so, as if a wall arose to cut her off from other people, a wall which she is unable to scale.

About Mrs. Inn there is a temperamental deliberation which is in striking contrast to her quick movement and tireless energy. When Mrs. Inn is deliberate in expressing herself or making decisions about personal matters involving her own thoughts or feelings, Mrs. Ex is quick and

impulsive. Obviously this has no connection with physical condition or muscular coordination: it is entirely psychological. Mrs. Inn does not speak her mind impulsively, does not express her emotions or discuss her feelings precipitately as does Mrs. Ex. True, either of them may flare into sudden anger at extraordinary provocation, but this is a different matter because in crises of sudden fear or anger, type differences are abolished by primitive automatic reactions. Yet under normal circumstances Mrs. Inn is deliberate in self-expression. If she enjoys a play or a bit of scenery she may say little or nothing about it at the time, whereas Mrs. Ex can hardly wait to express her pleasure and approval.

If Mrs. Inn is displeased or hurt, instead of complaining she may become aloof or apathetic. Often it is almost impossible to discover what has happened to her, so great is her reluctance to express her deeper feelings. She seldom makes direct complaints or demands of any kind, at least not at the time. Frequently she seems to be less affected by what is going on around her than rapt in her own thoughts.

Our second portrait of an introvert is that of a young man. Mr. Eye is amiable and intelligent but somewhat lacking in social fluency. His shortcomings have been widely discussed; indeed some American psychologists have called him egocentric and others have classed him among the neurotics, both grave mistakes.

In an ordinary crowd Mr. Eye is not particularly impressive. His is a strong silent, rather than a dashing or gallant, personality; indeed he has a trick of insulating himself from strangers as well as from anyone whom he finds uncongenial. Like Mrs. Inn, he seems to many people

emotionally repid because of his habit of displaying to strangers only the correct and impersonal facade of his personality which he deems it proper for them to see. Only a rarely understanding soul can guess that his outer calm is merely a veneer over a base of very different texture.

Although he is not particularly friendly with strangers, for having little or no small talk he is not the sort of man who falls readily into casual conversation, Mr. Eye's modest self-possession and a certain serious intensity are not without their charm, especially to Mrs. Ex, who finds in men of his type a mysterious appeal which stimulates her curiosity and interest.

Many people simply overlook Mr. Eye at social gatherings where, unless he finds someone who interests him especially, he seems to contract so as to expose as little personal surface as possible. Of course if he were unusually distinguished or handsome more people might seek him out, but his natural reserve and modest self-effacement often fail to arouse casual interest. Mr. Eye may not necessarily be intimidated by strangers or by the social scene although often he is. At other times he simply feels no particular urge to talk to people whom he does not know. He is enterprising enough if he meets an attractive girl, just as he is enterprising in business, sport or any other activity in which he has a definite personal interest.

Only in casual relations with people who have no personal bond of any sort with him does he display his characteristic reserve and self-effacement. Either he knows and cares for people or he does not know or does not care for them, and it seldom occurs to him to engage in conversation or to make gestures of friendliness merely

casually, that is, because he happens to come in contact with people and feels somehow that they expect it of him.

Many introverts cultivate interests which can be pursued alone, not because they wish always to be alone but because if you can amuse yourself alone, you do not need to suit your daily schedule to that of other people. You can work or amuse yourself when the spirit moves you rather than according to a prearranged program. Mr. Eye has a hobby of cabinet making and wood carving. He also enjoys reading, but no more than many extraverts. However, in contrast with extraverts, when he reads he not only holds the book before him; he seems to get behind it, to use it as a bulwark against intrusion.

Mr. Eye is a young man, unmarried. When he marries he will try to draw his wife into his own inner world. He will seek to isolate her, figuratively speaking, beside him, to carry her captive into the walled enclave of his own inner life. He will not let down his barriers against the rest of the world when he marries; he will simply make room for her and for their children, as he has already made room for his parents and dearest friends, behind those barriers.

A charming young man of Mr. Eye's type started on his honeymoon with the bride of his heart. As the train pulled out of the station he turned and kissed her with rapturous tenderness and his words were an epitome of introversion: "Now we can tell the whole world to go to hell."

Our last portrait is of a decidedly extraverted young man, Mr. E. He has no more initiative or talent for leadership than has Mr. Eye; he is simply more casually gre-

gamous and makes himself more noticeable among strangers. Often he leaves a more definite impression than Mr. Eye, although not necessarily a more favorable impression; indeed it may be far less so. The reason that strangers generally gain a more definite impression of him than of Mr. Eye is that in company Mr. E. seems to expand so as to expose as much personal surface as possible, which is of course just the opposite of Mr. Eye who seems to contract in strange company.

Many extraverts, among them Mrs. Ex, are decidedly loquacious and lively. Extravert men of this sort go about laughing and joking with everyone. They are much given to handshaking and backslapping in communities where these mannerisms are not considered bad taste, and in any case keep up a free exchange of breezy banter with almost everyone. This is a common picture of the extravert. However, there is another sort of person, no less definitely extraverted, who is hardly more loquacious, although loquacious in a different way, than many introverts. To this class of extraverts our Mr. E. belongs.

He is an affable, easy-going man, conversable although not talkative, the sort of man whom people feel free to confide in. He seems relaxed and at ease no matter where he may be. Active in lodges, civic groups and other organizations, he serves on innumerable committees, makes frequent after-dinner speeches and is a man on whom his associates depend for successful dealing with the public. If a hospital is in need of funds, if a monument is to be erected by popular subscription, if a convention is to be held in his town, Mr. E. always seems glad to take an active part in enlisting cooperation and arousing enthusiasm. (The words "always" and "never" should be

used sparingly in describing people, because people are plastic and often do the unexpected.)

Ordinarily he is not particularly voluble, but it is interesting to see how simply and freely he expresses himself under the appropriate stimulus. When he is called upon to make himself agreeable to strangers or to act the role of toastmaster he seems to expand, expressing himself with ease and establishing an intimate bond with his hearers. He seems relaxed and care-free, good-natured in company, even strange company, which is in contrast with the introvert who, however charming he may be, is always a little on his guard among strangers.

Two American men, long in public life, offer to those who know or have heard something of their lives, a good illustration of the contrast between introversion and extraversion. They are the late Calvin Coolidge and the late Theodore Roosevelt, paradigms respectively of introversion and extraversion.

Even to those who have no personal recollection of these deceased presidents of the United States, the legends concerning them suggest the coloring of their picturesque personalities.

Coolidge was a pattern of the dry laconic with never a word to waste nor a gesture to spare. President Coolidge's smile was as cool as frost, his manner as impersonal as a telephone operator's. Noted for his dry wit, doubtless he was as much amused as anyone by the humorous mythology of thrift and taciturnity which grew up about him.

Most Americans have heard the old story, told as true, of a beautiful and vivacious debutante who cornered Mr. Coolidge at a party just before he became President. As soon as they were seated, she turned to him eagerly and

confided that she had a wager with a friend, a heavy wager of fifty dollars, that she could draw him into conversation.

"Now it's up to you" she added hopefully, turning a devastating smile full upon him. "What about my bet?"

The report is that Mr. Coolidge hardly took his eyes from his plate as he replied simply, "You lose."

President Theodore Roosevelt, dramatic "Teddy," was the antithesis of Mr. Coolidge. Breezy and strenuous, he fairly crackled with vigorous self-expression. His teathy grin was lusty and ubiquitous, his handgrip fiercely cordial. He was as personal, as down-to-earth, as man-to-man in his relations with everyone as it is possible to be. A wit said of him that at funerals he wanted to take the place of the corpse and at weddings that of the bride. He was the apostle of the strenuous life and perhaps the most popular modern United States President. When he left Washington at the expiration of his term of office, crowds of plain citizens followed him to the station to bid him good-bye and it is said that many of them wept. The public's idols are not necessarily extraverts, yet it is perhaps easier for extraverts than introverts to win personal favor from the crowd.

Probably no description would indicate so unmistakably and forcefully the high contrasting points of the two types as the reader's own recollections of these two former Presidents. Each was a decided individual yet each was stamped with the unmistakable index of his type. It is an interesting fact that President Coolidge's was a gaunt leptosome physique, while Theodore Roosevelt was portly and full-bellied, a true pyknic (Chapter 1).

People under forty are more likely to display clear-cut characteristics of extraversion or introversion than are

older people. Yet it is evident from the case of the two Presidents that many men retain the stamp of their psychological type throughout life. From infants just beginning to walk, to elderly folk retired from active affairs, temperament often stands out as the most striking single feature of the personality.

There is the reserved and somewhat solemn child whose round-eyed absorption in things and people is seldom interrupted by spontaneous expressions or impulsive personal demonstrations. He is quiet, self-contained, intensely absorbed in his own affairs as if he could not spare a moment from them to pay attention to the strange adults who seek to engage him in conversation.

Such a boy of three or four years was playing on the sidewalk in front of his house when I happened to pass with my dog. With intense singleness of purpose he was pounding on a bit of frozen snow with a small hammer as I walked directly behind him. As we were the only people within sight I said "Hello" and when he failed to respond added, referring to my dog who was nearby, "That's Skippy, isn't he a nice fellow?" Most children respond eagerly to my dog who is rather an engaging spaniel. But this boy paid not the slightest attention to either of us. He went on hammering as if he had neither seen nor heard me. Because I was a stranger, doubtless he found my presence superfluous and my remarks uncalled for, so I was obliged to depart without a response from the introverted child. Not long afterward I saw the same boy talking eagerly to another woman who, I suppose, was his mother or nurse. The introvert child, like the introvert adult, is literally "a different person" in the company of his loved intimates.

Rarely have I seen a small boy so completely unresponsive to strangers as that one. Usually when adults approach an introvert child of three or four years he regards them either shyly or steadfastly, showing that he is aware of their presence, however little it pleases him. When strangers succeed in engaging him in conversation his replies show a characteristic economy of words. Rarely will he venture a smile or any display of feeling for he is economical in demonstration and on his guard before strangers. Like all intelligent children he is interested in toys or other objects offered for his inspection, and these he usually examines eagerly. But he shies off from personal contact with strangers and is often struck dumb in their presence. People who do not understand his nature frequently attribute his lack of response to sullenness or mental dullness, with which it has not the slightest connection.

Contrast this reserve and infant dignity with the ready and abundant responses of the typical extravert three-year-old, who is ready of speech and lavish in his demonstrations toward friendly strangers.⁶ Indeed, before he was able to talk he extended his arms and raised his voice for attention whenever company was about. His every gesture invites personal contact from stranger as well as friend. Usually affable and ingratiating in his efforts to attract attention, if these should fail to win the desired response he will shout, weep or commit mischief in order to command notice. He seems to talk, act, and live so as to make others respond to him. His free self-expression at all times offers an interesting contrast to the serious reserve of the introvert toddler.

If the boy in the snow had been an extravert he would

not only have responded to my greeting but would have stopped his hammering and perhaps tried to make friends either with me or my dog. Sometimes such a child has many questions of his own to put to any friendly adult and children who had never seen me before have asked me where I lived, why I happened to be out walking, and many eager questions about dogs and their ways.

The reader may feel that there is no analogy between these short descriptions of certain aspects of personality and portraits of people. In this he is perfectly right. For one thing, in real portraits the subject remains substantially the same regardless of where the picture hangs or who views it. Unfortunately this is not the case with any word sketch of introverts and extraverts. For such sketches suffer the peculiar handicap of altering with alterations in the environment in extraordinary ways, because no personality is completely autonomous.

It is as if a portrait of Oliver Cromwell, let us say, revealed him seated facing the observer at those times when the portrait was hanging in his home, but turned its back when displayed in a public gallery, or rose and drew its sword under the scrutiny of art critics. Obviously only a most extraordinary portrait would behave in such a way. Yet a portrait of an extravert or an introvert would be guilty of just such disconcerting antics. This is because no living being is strictly autonomous; he is so plastic, so adaptable that he is actually a part of his environment. Adaptable to a great variety of conditions within himself as well as in the world outside, he acts almost as if he were a different person at different times, besides appearing differently to different observers as every portrait does, even a real one. Therefore, in order to make the subject

of a psychological portrait sketch stand still while we examine him, it would be necessary to make his environment stand still also.

If these descriptive sketches have served a purpose it is not through any virtue of their own, but merely as reminders of the reader's own experience. Not everyone displays his type unmistakably, yet most young people, especially those under thirty, fly extraversion or introversion like a flag at one time or another, so that anyone who understands the principles can identify his friends with a fair degree of accuracy. It is as if, after we became acquainted with him, we found that each type bore upon him a set of credentials. Let us examine the extravert's credentials.

At his best the extravert is responsive to everyone around him, stranger as well as friend. He is himself most completely in his relations with others and with casual acquaintances or even with strangers his intercourse is easy and familiar.

He seems to accept people without ado unless he has a definite reason for not accepting them, and other things being equal, is accepted by them. His intercourse with everyone is direct and personal and he seems to fit into his relations with other people as liquid fits into a mould. Willing to answer well-meant questions freely, he has no disturbing reticences. He is sound and free in his contacts, as hearty a fighter as a friend. There is something practical and human about him which makes people feel free to confide in him. Also he seems to be interested in everything, alert and usually good-natured, with a personality which seems to have no complications or undertones but is all out on the surface where everybody can know it.

His human value lies in his relation to the world rather than in himself.

This is one side of the extravert nature, the good side. But there is another side. If the extravert at his best shows these virtues, the extravert at his worst shows an equal number of defects.

At his worst, the extravert is bold, blatant and importunate; he often talks too loudly or too continuously. He is effusive or vulgarly self-assertive. He may be a poseur, a smart alec, a braggart, a bully or merely a garrulous bore. Given to tactless comments and queries, he intrudes where he is not needed and pushes in where he is not wanted. He slaps you on the back, weeps on your shoulder or plies you with advice for "your own good." He is socially insatiable, dependent upon others for stimulation, for consolation and for his sense of self-importance. Deprived of stimulating contacts he becomes bored and restless, for he needs an audience to amuse, flatter, amaze, impress or intimidate.

He is unable to restrain himself from ventilating his thoughts and discanting on his feelings and emotions; his type has been known to telephone friends in the middle of the night because he "just had to talk to somebody."

An extravert neighbor with whom I had only a bowing acquaintance once, without warning, cornered me and discoursed for many minutes on the condition of her feet. She entered into the most elaborate description of symptoms, types of shoes and other details, without the slightest encouragement from me, because I had no knowledge or interest in the subject and, indeed, made little effort to conceal the fact that I was distinctly bored. Yet doubtless she needed to get the matter off her chest and I happened

to be the victim nearest at hand. At his worst, the extravert is extremely dependent upon his contact with others and this dependence may violate not only his own independence but the convenience of other people as well.

Now let us examine the introvert's credentials.

At his best he is self-possessed and serene. His serious reserve is as pleasing in its way as the bright cordiality of the extravert. Although he is generally laconic with strangers, his is a deep, often an intense responsiveness to particular friends, and once you gain his affection you will find him loyal and steadfast.

Reticent himself, he respects the mental privacy of others, refraining from direct personal questions or allusions to feelings or emotions. His sense of humor is as keen as any man's but in contrast with the extravert's lively gusto, his is a dry straight-faced wit. The introvert sometimes appears to be rapt in the mantle of his own thoughts rather than agog for outside things. There is about him a serious intensity which acts as a counterfoil for the extravert's light-hearted extensivity of interest in everything and everybody. The introvert's value lies not in his relation to others, but in himself. Hence only those who gain his confidence and affection can appraise his worth.

The introvert is like a store which displays little or nothing in the window, perhaps only a single item or a conventional decoration. All the merchandise is inside and one must enter in order to examine it. The extravert, on the contrary, is like a store which puts as much of its stock as possible right in the window where every passer-by can see it. There may be little stock in reserve but anyone may learn what the store sells by studying its display.

At his worst the introvert is cold and indifferent, tense and distrustful, or stolid and enervate. He is taciturn or laconic, unresponsive, unenthusiastic or glum, or again he may seem timid, indecisive, and insipid. Rarely an introvert may assume an over-deferential or obsequious manner toward strangers as if to mollify or pacify them at all costs. This last is somewhat uncommon, for usually the introvert at his worst is merely cold and forbidding. His relations with others seem devious, lacking in the straight-forward simplicity which even the most disagreeable extravert shows. Such a man is hard to deal with, not necessarily because he bears others ill will, but rather because he makes no effort to get outside his own shell or to establish with others any sort of personal understanding. Indeed, he seems to resent it when strangers try to understand him or seek to establish a personal bond with him.

He is a man whom nobody knows and often he appears so crusty and austere that few people have the hardihood to want to know him. He remains shut up inside his rough-textured shell, sometimes disliked, sometimes feared, sometimes merely tolerated but always misunderstood.

This sort of introvert, the introvert at his worst, contrasts with the extravert at his worst in that you will be obliged to put up with the extravert bore so long as you remain physically accessible. You will not have to put up with the introvert, because if you let him alone he will let you alone. At his worst the disagreeable introvert holds this modest advantage over the disagreeable extravert. It is balanced, however, by the distinct handicap which his attitude imposes on anyone who finds it necessary to deal with him. If you are forced to deal with a disagreeable extravert you are always able to establish some sort of

personal connection, however unpleasant, which gives you at least a point of departure in your dealings. But with the introvert you are always at a loss to discover whether you have established, or will ever establish any sort of connection. He simply keeps you in the dark as to his impression of you and intentions toward you, while even the most hostile extravert lets you know the worst.

Perhaps the reader is now familiar with the vague, general outlines of the contrasting psychological types. Although not every man or woman can be identified offhand as introvert or extravert, the majority of unsophisticated people, especially young people, may be identified readily by their friends. Let the reader bear in mind that the manifestations which I have just outlined are not extraversion and introversion: they are only the superficial traits, the most obvious signs. For extraversion and introversion are no more to be understood from descriptions of behavior than measles is to be understood from descriptions of the eruption.

We must avoid the mistake, a mistake which is only too common, of assuming that natural reticence and reserve constitute the whole of introversion, while a natural talent for talk and a certain ease and intimacy in dealing with strangers are the whole of extraversion. Although these ways of behaving constitute the most striking differences between the types of people, their chief importance is to the observer and a wise observer of men does not put too much weight on mere appearance; his job is to discover what lies back of it.

To a great extent, any description of the psychological types as they appear in ordinary social contacts necessarily works an injustice to introverts. This is because the extra-

vert is at his best in just such contacts; they are his forte, his native accomplishment. On the other hand, these are exactly the situations in which introverts are at a disadvantage, the very point at which it is impossible for them to be themselves at their best. This is perhaps one reason why the introvert is so generally and so unjustifiably depreciated at present in the United States. When, in circumstances most common for the ordinary observer, one man puts his best foot forward while another puts his worst forward, it is small wonder that the former gets credit for having superior feet.

CHAPTER 3

HOW THE TYPES LOOK TO THE WORLD TRAITS

In describing personality and character almost everyone mentions traits and asks what traits are characteristic of introverts or extraverts. Although the descriptions indicate what may be called extravert and introvert traits, nevertheless it is possible for an extravert and an introvert to have the same fundamental traits, if by trait we mean basic characteristics. That is because the difference between the types lies along what might be called a psychological plane surface where one type is situated on the right hand, the other on the left. But character is another dimension of the self and we must think of it not as lying at right or left, but as being high or low. Introversion and extraversion do not affect character.

For example, both extraverts and introverts may be generous or selfish, responsible or irresponsible, tolerant or intolerant, moody or of equable disposition. Likewise both extraverts and introverts may or may not have athletic, mechanical, literary or artistic interests, may be either leaders or followers, may or may not enjoy a sense of humor or suffer from a sense of inferiority. Certain of these tastes and interests have to do with the psychological functions explained by Doctor Jung, omitted from this

book for the sake of simplicity. But it is a mistake to assume, as some students have done, that an interest in any particular subject could indicate extraversion or introversion. Like intellectual ability and neurotic tendency, these characteristics, tastes and interests have absolutely no connection with extraversion or introversion. An extravert and an introvert may be interested in the same thing, for example, nature or machinery. It is their different psychological attitudes toward that interest, their different ways of dealing mentally with that thing, which conform to the difference in type.

Extraversion and introversion must be understood as emotional-mental attitudes which determine a person's basic outlook on experience but are manifest as traits, as visible reactions, chiefly in connection with human relations. Perhaps it might be illustrated thus: a man may have good eyesight or poor, may be color blind, astigmatic or not. Yet this has nothing to do with the fact that the direction in which that man faces has an important bearing on what he will see at any moment. Version means turning; extraversion and introversion describe the way in which a person faces psychologically, the direction in which he is turned mentally and emotionally.

Just as facing in a certain direction, east or west, determines what part of the landscape one will view at a given time, being an extravert or an introvert orients the mind at all times, imparting to it a certain characteristic attitude. Sometimes this mental attitude is manifest in so-called traits, sometimes not. But fundamentally the difference in the inner attitude of the two types is far more important than any difference in behavior.

Furthermore, the contrast in the temperaments of extra-

verts and introverts must never blind us to the fact that all normal people have the same fundamental objectives in life. All seek success in work or personal endeavor of some kind, be it nothing more arduous than dressing in the latest style or making a social success; all seek love, and all strive for a satisfactory relationship with other people, both within and outside the family.

To our inquiry this last is particularly pertinent because man is a social being and we must remember that introverts strive to find a positive relation with other people no less diligently than extraverts do. The difference between them lies not in the different degree of value which each type attaches to human relationships, but, as we shall see, in the different ways in which each type manifests his interest and the different aspect of the relationship to which he attaches value.

Furthermore, because an introvert may be, within himself, all those things which an extravert is explicitly, the fundamental characters of extraverts do not necessarily differ from those of introverts. Those so-called traits which differentiate the two types are first, temperamental or dispositional, secondly, manifestations of the basic mental version or native point of view.

Although the word trait is used freely even by professional psychologists, it is merely a descriptive term and means little unless we understand something of the individual's life. That is because a trait does not exist apart from the total situation which evokes it: in strict accuracy we may not say that a man has a certain trait, but only that he exhibits a certain trait in a certain situation, that is, that he behaves a certain way under certain conditions.

For example, it is not strictly accurate to say that a

person is uncommunicative: we may say only that he is uncommunicative with certain people or about certain topics. Generally when a person says that another is close-mouthed he means only, "John is close-mouthed with me." Sometimes he may mean, "John is close-mouthed with me about subjects in which I am interested." Although the speaker may not realize it, John may be voluble with another person or he may be freely communicative about certain specific topics.

For this reason inventories of so-called traits have little value. Indeed Smith's statement about Jones tells as much about the speaker himself as it tells about Jones. It is correct to talk about traits if we understand that a trait is nothing more than someone's description of someone's behavior in a specific situation, and that strictly speaking, the trait has no existence apart from that situation (which includes the person who does the describing). The total situation in which a trait is manifest is partly a product of external circumstance and partly a function of the psychology of the person himself.

The most important aspect of a trait or behavior habit is revealed in answer to the question whether it constitutes free, normal adaptation or a neurotic attempt to evade adaptation. Obviously it would be impossible to decide this question without an intimate knowledge of the whole life plan of the individual whose traits we are considering. It cannot be repeated too often that behavior in itself means nothing; only by viewing that behavior against its proper background can we form any intelligent opinion of it. The most important question about behavior is whether it is normal or abnormal, whether or not it is based on sound mental health.

For example, the fact that a person cultivates few friends and tends to remain alone a great deal of the time is not, in itself, an index of his mental health. We must discover whether this habit constitutes normal or abnormal behavior in the particular situation in which it is manifest. A college student who shuns his fellows and refuses to take part in social activities undoubtedly suffers from some morbid condition. Barring physical disability, there is no reason for solitary habits under the conditions of college life. Therefore we are justified in suspecting a neurotic tendency in any student who persistently shuns his fellows.

But consider the case of a man of fifty, a novelist or a philosopher who cultivates few friends and spends the greater part of his time working alone. Obviously we are not justified in diagnosing him offhand as neurotic. Anyone engaged in creative work which requires the greater part of his waking time and a large share of his mental energy, finds it necessary to curtail those social as well as other activities which divert energy from his work. Even an extravert is able to live in relative seclusion when seclusion is necessary for the completion of an exacting task. Therefore the fact that a mature person lives a life of seclusion is, of itself, neither a symptom of neurosis nor an index of introversion. Not only may the same trait or behavior habit be viewed as normal in one situation and abnormal in another; the same trait may be taken as evidence of psychological type in one situation and not in another.

The question whether a man follows a certain line of conduct because he chooses it as an appropriate adaptation to his particular situation in life, or whether, despite its

inappropriateness, he follows it because he cannot help himself, must be answered before it is possible to draw any conclusion about a person's mental health or psychological type. That behavior which results from freedom of choice, indicates a healthy (although it may or may not be in practice a successful) form of adaptation to life. But that behavior which the individual is forced to follow because he is incapable of doing anything else is unhealthy (although, by chance, it might result in practical success). Behavior, such as a habit of shunning people and living in strict seclusion, which is a form of compulsion from which the individual is unable to free himself is abnormal behavior. It results from no freedom of choice, no voluntary sacrifice for the purpose of accomplishing a task, but rather from an attempt to escape from the task of adaptation. It is not adaptive behavior; it is escape behavior. Like taking narcotics, it solves no problem; it merely offers temporary escape from problems.

Whether a man is free to cultivate solitude because he is writing a novel or working on an invention and willingly dedicates all his energy to the task, or whether he is doomed to social exile because he is unable to endure or to be endured by his fellow-men is a question far more important than the question whether he lives a lonely or a social life. In every effort to understand human nature we must ask ourselves whether this person lives in seclusion because he has reason to do so or whether he is forced to it because of timidity, misanthropy or because no man can endure his company. The same trait or habit of behavior may be normal and wholesome in one situation, abnormal and neurotic in another. For "trait" is merely a word which describes someone's opinion of another's be-

havior and is meaningless without that background which other information must supply.

Some people believe that introverts are somewhat unsociable or that they have, as a rule, few friends whereas extraverts are more sociable or more catholic socially. This is not the exact distinction. The more important difference in the social habits of the two types lies, rather, in the freedom with which they make casual personal contacts, than in the number of their real friends. Extraverts seem to make more casual acquaintances, to have a speaking acquaintance with more policemen, shopkeepers, neighbors and delivery boys. But they have no more real friends than introverts, because the number of people whom anyone cultivates as personal friends depends upon many conditions besides psychological type. Among these tastes, social opportunities and leisure suggest themselves, as well as character and other qualifications which win friends.

There are extraverts who concentrate on few friends not from lack of wider acquaintance but because of unusual intellectual, artistic, or other special interests which incline them to cultivate friends among those who share their tastes. If these tastes and interests are unusual, few people are likely to share them and in consequence even an extravert may have few real friends.

Two observers reported that school children of high intelligence seemed more sociable. Here is one among a number of considerations which should not be blanketed under type differences.⁷

The extravert's easy familiarity of manner, even with strangers, may appear as a love for or an unselfish desire to contribute to the happiness of (some) others at (some)

times and to the smooth functioning of social life. But let no one suppose that, as a type, the extravert is consciously unselfish, that he makes any voluntary contribution to the community. Stimulating other people and having them respond to him, creating an impression on them, is the breath of the extravert's life. He realizes the fullness of experience through his relationship with and effect on others.

As an extravert only child of five or six years I was dependent upon the companionship of neighbors' children. I can remember one small playmate from whom I was inseparable. To her I related all my adventures and from her I sought comfort in all my tribulations. Often at the end of the day when it was time for us to part, I clung to her tearfully begging, "Oh Fanny, don't leave me, don't leave me." To onlookers this may have appeared as a touching example of childish devotion. But it was nothing of the sort. It was not because I loved Fanny so much that I longed to keep her near me, but simply that I dreaded being deprived of my companion and my audience, robbed of the undivided attention of another being. If there had been someone at home to pay me such flattering attention as that of little Fanny, doubtless I would have been less reluctant to part from her.

We must never mistake the extravert's dependence on companionship as an unselfish wish to make others happy or an overwhelming love of others. The extravert needs people, not only his friends and intimates but anyone of his peers who happen to be at hand. His ready response to them is in no sense altruistic because while he embraces society he also clings to it for support; he crutches his self-esteem upon it. What appears as his free gift to the

group is merely the product of an innate necessity. It has no more to do with true kindness or unselfishness than has the participation of a hound in a hunt.

Without his relation to the external world the extravert is nothing at all. It is as if he were empty and needed to feed on contacts with the outer world in order to nourish his inner hunger. He does not realize his emptiness but he acts so as to feed his hunger for contact. Furthermore the extravert is so responsive to and so stimulated by other people, that all his psychological energy (the technical term is libido) is spent in overt expression: there is little left to activate his conscious inner life. For the reason that the same psychological energy cannot serve two purposes at once, the person who is fluently expressive and adaptable in overt relationships is correspondingly shallow, stolid and insensitive insofar as his own thoughts and his inner realization of experience are concerned. Such a person lives almost exclusively in outward relations. All the richness and fullness of his personality are the product of these relations, and his habit of working off his feelings by active demonstrations leaves him relatively empty and poor insofar as his inner life is concerned. He lacks the power of contemplating his own deeper responses. He is aware only of his relation to and effect on the external world, and however successful that relation is, however agreeable that effect may be, the very blood which nourishes them leaves the inner life anemic.

Even when we know a person's entire life as a background against which to view his traits, we discover that by no means all of these have to do with his psychological type. And of these few which are manifestations of introversion or extraversion, one or even two hardly suffice as

an index of psychological type, any more than one or two symptoms alone suffice for a physician's diagnosis of a disease. It is the whole picture of a condition, the separate manifestations seen in relation to a larger totality which permits us to judge psychological type. No single trait indicates any individual's type: only a panoramic view of personality can give the clue to introversion or extraversion. Furthermore, human beings are extraordinarily plastic; they can be taught, or led, or coerced into ways alien to their natural inclinations. For that reason the type picture is often blurred; indeed almost never in normal people do we find an uncomplicated personality which displays all the traits of his own, and none of the traits of the opposite psychological type.

With all the foregoing qualifications in mind, perhaps we may now consider what traits may be assigned to each type. Although the following could hardly be called a complete inventory of traits, it is the nearest approach to such an inventory that it seems possible to offer with any pretense to accuracy. It is by these traits and attitudes alone, so far as I know, that we are able to unravel the threads of introversion or extraversion from the intricate fabric of personality. It was said that one trait or even two would hardly serve as an index of type. In a later chapter I shall point out a characteristic related to one of these traits which seems to come near to being a certain index. Other things being equal, however, under ordinary circumstances the majority of extraverts display:

1. Gregariousness or free sociability, also freedom in self-expression, in emotional demonstration, in personal contacts (even with strangers).

2. Precipitateness in self-expression, that is, the tendency to speak and to act without much deliberation.
3. Extensive rather than intensive attention. The extravert is agog for almost everything (in the outside world).
4. Applause psychology, a desire for attention and approval rather than independence and power.
5. Positivist-materialist point of view.

The majority of introverts display:

1. Reserve, that is reticence in self-expression, in emotional demonstration, in personal contacts (especially with strangers).
2. Deliberation in self-expression, that is, a tendency to speak and to act after some reflection or hesitation.
3. Intensive rather than extensive attention. The introvert is often wrapped in his thoughts.
4. Power psychology, a desire for independence and power rather than for attention and approval.
5. Rationalist-idealist point of view (frequently distorted in the United States by prevailing pseudo-scientific bias).

The two temperamental scales:

Extraverts range from gaiety and elation at one end of their scale to sadness and depression at the other.

Introverts range from intensity and zeal at one end of their scale to apathy and indifference at the other.

If the foregoing can be called a list of traits, it errs on the score of incompleteness as further study will reveal.

The reader may be disappointed to discover that the traits which distinguish introverts from extraverts are few, and that even these few are not simple or obvious in every situation. But there is nothing simple about understanding

human nature, and it is only a wish-born fiction that psychology can be reduced to a set of formulas.

One of the most interesting differences between the types lies in their different ways of achieving a feeling of self-satisfaction or overcoming a sense of inferiority. Because extraverts are attentive to their relation to and effect on people they have what may be called an applause psychology. The egoistic extravert is satisfied with himself only when he feels that he is making a good impression on others, only when they are applauding him or at least paying attention to him. Because he is himself most completely in his relation to others he finds his greatest satisfaction when people applaud him, although if he is unable to win the world's approval he may act so as to shock or to amaze it. But always he strives to impress people, for his feeling of power derives less from his sense of freedom and independence than from his effect on others. He prefers a good effect, failing that a shocking or bizarre effect but always a direct personal effect, and because he finds himself in this effect he nourishes his self-esteem upon it.

On the other hand, the introvert egoist generally shuns personal contacts. Although he may cultivate an intense interest in, even a real dependence on a few chosen intimates, for the rest of the world he nourishes a vast indifference, contempt, in some cases aversion. Whereas the extravert propitiates the world or shocks it, the introvert disdains it. Because all his values are contained in the subject, he believes that whatever he accomplishes sets him apart from other people. Unlike the extravert, he has no urge to seek self-confirmation in the approval of others, no need to find himself in his effect on the world. On the

contrary, the introvert seeks the world in himself and in those he knows and loves, nourishing and consolidating personal values by excluding every external influence which might contaminate them. He has neither the talent nor the desire to inflate his ego by personal contact with the world, rather he longs to prove his complete emancipation from the world, to assert an unparalleled self-sufficiency.

While the extravert wishes to be like other men, only superior to them in that he commands their envy or acclaim, the introvert wants to be entirely different from them, entirely independent of them. He may exact tribute from the crowd but he neither needs nor wants any personal contact with it. He asserts himself by his independence of others, just as extraverts assert themselves by seeking to impress others. Extraverts also want independence but it is physical independence: introverts crave psychic independence.

The introvert egoist does not always show indifference to or contempt for others. At times he may disguise it under a mask of hypocritical self-abasement. In rare cases we meet a paradoxical obsequiousness in an introvert. A person of this type puts on the mantle of excessive humility, exaggerated complaisance and self-disparagement, after the manner of Dickens' Uriah Heep in "David Copperfield." Actually this is a perverted manifestation of the power instinct asserted, as is often the case in abnormal conditions, by the antithesis of the normal. This form of hypocrisy has the aim of disarming others and weakening their position. However it is the rule that introverts crave power and independence, extraverts approbation.

There is nothing to choose between the egoism of the

two types. They are alike in their self-interest, alike in their neglect of the interests of others. The only difference is that their self-interest lies in different domains and is satisfied by different means.

If, because of his unsociable manner, the introvert egoist often appears more ruthless and forbidding than the extravert, it is only because we cannot see beneath the acceptable demeanor of the extravert to the hungry self-interest which animates his contact with his fellow-men.

That the extravert displays a superficial interest in and response to the people around him, proves nothing about his moral relation with them: indeed the very display may be a device for furthering his own interests. Here is absolutely no moral question of "finding one's self" or "losing one's self": the extravert finds himself in the world, the introvert finds the world in himself. Obviously it is no more or less selfish to see yourself reflected in the world around you, to see yourself in your effect on other people and things, than to see the world reflected in yourself, that is to fix your attention chiefly on your own impressions of those people and things. Either mirror can reflect selfishness, if selfishness is present, just as either mirror can reflect unselfishness if unselfishness is present. The selfish extravert does not think of other people in an unselfish way but of his own effect on other people; he does not think of what he can do for others but of what he can get them to do for him. The selfish introvert's tendency to ignore or to disdain others is no more objectionable than the selfish extravert's tendency to use his relation to others for his own advantage.

Because selfishness, egoism or egocentrism are so frequently confused with introversion even by psychologists,

it is necessary to clarify this point before going further. "Egocentrism" is here used loosely to mean a self-centered and selfish attitude. Because it would carry us too far afield, no distinction is made between psychological egocentrism and simple selfishness or egoism. It is suggested that the reader interested in the former condition read "Judgment and Reasoning in the Child" by Jean Piaget (Harcourt Brace & Co.). Selfishness, egoism, egocentrism bear not the slightest relation to psychological type. It is true that introverts are born selfish and self-centered but so are extraverts, for everyone, regardless of type, is an egoist in early youth and only gradually overcomes this primitive tendency.

But introversion itself has no more connection with egoism or egocentrism than it has with skin coloring. Although, obviously, a baby neither knows nor cares for anything except his own needs and desires, normal people overcome their original selfishness, at least to some extent, as they grow older. Because human beings live and work with others, the normal child who lives in a normal environment outgrows or overcomes his original selfishness as he outgrows drooling and overcomes his impulse to grab things which do not belong to him.

No matter how unselfish a man may become, his ego remains the center of his experience, just as his body remains the center of his physical world. Doubtless we never lose the ego as the center of our world of experience, but rather enlarge its periphery so as to include interests beyond self which we may come to serve as diligently as we formerly served self-interest. When we say that a person is self-centered or egocentric, we mean that he is unable to take a deep, genuine interest in any-

thing except insofar as it is related directly to himself. Obviously egocentrism and selfishness vary in degree just as intelligence does.

Natural as egocentrism is in youth, a definitely egocentric adult is psychologically as well as morally immature; that is, he retains a somewhat puerile, a somewhat primitive point of view. People are more or less egocentric who suffer from an inferiority complex (of which they are unconscious) or an inferiority feeling (of which they are conscious). Often a complex of inferiority develops into a painful but not uncommon condition which might be called a "sore" ego.

People who have suffered abuse, injustice, humiliation, especially in early life, are likely to nurse a sore ego even as adults because these experiences impede the growth of self-respect and self-confidence, both of which are essential to the development of the individual out of his primitive egoism. Neglected and unloved children are likely to have sore egos as adults because they have been deprived of that foundation of self-confidence which is the security of their parents' love.

On the other hand, a spoiled, pampered child is equally likely to suffer a sore ego when he grows up. This is because he may have acquired such a taste for and dependence on parental indulgence that when he comes to face a world which is indifferent to his existence, the shock may wound his ego so deeply that he will be forced to go through life nursing it. Not only does the spoiled child's egoism fatten on his parents' indulgence; usually cosseting includes having so many things done for him which he should learn to do for himself, that he remains in a dependent and helpless state. Dependent, helpless people

are truly inferior to independent capable ones, hence the pampered child has genuine cause to lack self-confidence and reason to feel inferior to other people. Thus he may develop a "sore" ego. People with sore egos are those who compensate for their own deficiencies by taking advantage of others; who try to appear superior by forcing others to appear inferior.

Either cruelty and neglect or oversolicitude and cossetting may lay the foundation for a sore ego by interfering with the natural growth of self-confidence, independence and the normal self-esteem which are essential to the emotional stability, the mental health and the moral progress of every human being. Although many so-called normal people suffer from sore egos, no one in that condition is mentally healthy or morally dependable, for a sore ego undermines character. Prisons are full of people with sore egos.

A man with a sore ego is like a man with a sore hand; he has to pay constant attention to it. The sore hand is sensitive and must be favored and protected. The man with well hands forgets all about his hands, using them freely in performing many tasks. But a sore hand performs no service; on the contrary, it demands care and attention. A man is always more or less conscious of his sore hand; if it were healthy he could forget it.

A sore ego makes a person extremely sensitive and touchy about everything which pertains to his personal status, his pride, his "face," because the more inferior one feels the more sensitive he is to slights, to criticism, to anything suggestive of disparagement. The person with a sore ego cannot bear to admit that he is mistaken or at fault; his tendency is to excuse his own delinquencies by

blaming everything on others, hence his resentment and animosity are easily aroused.

Furthermore so brittle is his self-confidence that he takes everything personally. Everything that friends or enemies do or say either wounds his pride or gratifies it, either deflates his sense of self-importance or puffs it up. The man with a sore ego cannot disregard or forget himself any more than a man with a sick body can disregard or forget his body. In either case, the weakness and pain of an unhealthy condition constantly draw attention to that condition. It is possible to forget a healthy body or a healthy ego, but the man with a sore ego is compelled to favor and consider himself so diligently that it is almost impossible for him to take a disinterested view or an unselfish interest in anything. He is forced to put himself and his own advantage first; impersonal matters, unselfish interests come last if at all.

Not all egocentric people are obviously egotistical or selfish, indeed some (see page 43) are the reverse. But all selfish people are self-centered and the latter condition reaches its height in the insane. The braggart, the bully, the poscur, the petty-minded women who perk over others or act as tyrants in the home, as well as obsequious, fawning hypocrites all are trying to salve their sore egos in one way or another. Both crass egotism and cringing servility, both brutality and hypocrisy may serve as bandages over a sore ego. Because it is the chief source of man's inhumanity to man, the sore ego is as great a curse to our civilization as tuberculosis or cancer. It is a moral disease which causes as much misery to its victims and to those who have to live or work with them, as does any physical ailment.

Furthermore, a sore ego is one of the common causes of intellectual bias and prejudice, although these have another hinge as well, that of ignorance. Nevertheless, a sore ego can divert even an educated man from the pursuit of facts to the service of prejudice and self-interest as surely as a sore hand can make a man stop work and seek relief for his pain.

Although egoism and egocentrism are of varying degree, it is evident that adults of high intellect, culture, emotional stability and moral integrity are not egotists or egocentrics. They have outgrown the narrow confines of a personal or parochial point of view so as to acknowledge the legitimacy of other points of view and, in addition are sufficiently integrated, that is, their mental-emotional health is sufficiently good to enable them to live according to a moral frame of reference in which self-interest is no longer central, but takes its place as one among many, more important interests.

Unfortunately there is no word in the English language which expresses this condition, a condition which is the opposite of egocentrism. The word altruism comes nearest perhaps, but altruism has a slightly different emphasis in that it suggests a clearly philanthropic tendency rather than the condition of simple disinterestedness which concerns us here. We shall find ourselves seriously handicapped by the lack in our language of a clear, unmistakable antonym for egocentrism. The word "objectivity" has been drafted by some psychologists to serve this purpose but with most unfortunate results. (See note on use of terms "subjective" and "objective.") This is because "objective" has another, entirely different meaning.

With no desire to coin words but solely in the interest

of precision and clear thinking I propose to use, as an antonym for egocentrism the word "altertendency," a combination of "alter" meaning "other" in contrast with "ego," and "tendency" from the root *tendere*, meaning "to extend" or "be directed." "Alter-tendency" indicates the condition in which an individual's attention and interest are disposable, that is, capable of being directed toward others rather than being centered exclusively in self. "Altertendency" is the opposite of egocentrism, both the naive egocentrism of the child and the morbid egocentrism of neurotics, the insane and so-called normal people with "sore" egos.

"Altertensive" people are healthy-minded, emotionally balanced and morally responsible. Altertendency like egocentrism is of varying degrees, for just as no adult could be entirely egocentric, neither could anyone be entirely altertensive. But altertendency is the basis of character, the source of those qualities which earn our deepest respect.

Egocentrism shows itself in ways characteristic of type, chiefly because of the introvert's predominant instinct for independence and power and the extravert's predominant instinct for recognition and applause. That is why the egocentric introvert is more likely to show either a cringing, self-obliterating or cold, negative attitude toward others, while the egocentric extravert may be haughty, high-handed or boastful, a blatant seeker of attention or striver for effect. Although fortunately few adults manifest clearly defined egocentrism, unfortunately most of us retain some traces of it all our lives.

The real goal of education and character training is that of decreasing egocentrism and promoting that disinter-

estedness, that moral and emotional maturity which altertendency implies. Although the ego will always remain at the center of consciousness, by enlarging the horizon of consciousness to include other people and other interests which formerly were not identified with our own, we can attain to a state of moral maturity and personal culture as superior to the naive egocentrism of the child as to that of the adult who suffers from a sore ego. The moral and intellectual development which Jung calls individuation includes the evolution out of egocentrism toward an ever increasing altertendency.

Because the confusion of egocentrism with introversion and the confusion of unselfishness or altruism with extraversion seems to be common, especially in the United States,* a thorough mental disinfection must precede any serious effort to understand the types of human nature. Any reader who harbored in his mind a confusion of this sort would find himself defeated at the outset.

* See "Note on Use of Terms 'Subjective' and 'Objective,'" page 269.

CHAPTER 4

YOUR SELF

Because it is impossible to understand extraversion and introversion without some basic knowledge of modern concepts of the self and the ego, particularly the latter's development, the next few pages deal with this subject. Obviously so vast a topic could hardly be treated in one chapter or even in one book, therefore the following presentation is superficial and does not pretend to do justice to the subject. Yet it would be as great a mistake to discuss extraversion and introversion without reference to the development of the self as to discuss modern machine economy without reference to the development of capitalism.

We speak of ourselves as if we knew ourselves. Yet obviously no one knows what a "self" may be. Indeed the self and the ego, like electrons and protons, are hypotheses: we do not know exactly what they are,⁸ although we are familiar with many of their characteristics. When we speak of the self we generally mean the conscious self or mind-ego which is the focus of consciousness. Your ego is you as you know yourself, as you control yourself, as you think and act and will. Psychologists distinguish between the self which is defined as the total psyche, unconscious as well as conscious, and the mind-ego which is the conscious center of psychic life. I assume that the

ego was formerly called the soul; now it is called, loosely, the self, the personality, sometimes the character. It is not practical to follow Jungian terminology here, because it might confuse the general reader to introduce the fine distinctions which Jung makes in his use of the terms self, subject, individual, etc. I use these words according to their common non-technical definitions.

But when we speak of a person's character we refer generally to the organization or integration of the psyche, the degree to which conflicting impulses, desires, emotions, are controlled and unified, the degree to which the mind-ego commands behavior. Thus a strong character is one in which there is strong unity of purpose, a consistent direction of will; a weak character is one in which there is little or no unity of purpose, little or no consistency of will.

To integrate means to unite unorganized parts into an organized whole. It is a concept much used in modern psychology because integrity is the function of the mind-ego. Either a high degree of integration "generates" consciousness, or consciousness is responsible for a high degree of integration, but in either case conscious integrity is indispensable to normal adaptation on the human plane. It is suggested that the reader think of integrity as wholeness or as conscious organization, not as honor or honesty, for which the word was formerly more commonly used. The person of weak character lacks psychological integrity; he is mentally and emotionally disorganized, infirm of purpose, inconsistent and irresponsible. His thoughts and acts are at the mercy of vagrant impulses, wandering fancies and temporary influences of all kinds, for he has little or no control over them. His mind-ego,

his conscious or mental coordination, is weak, hence the psychological organization lacks integrity and we say of such a person that he is not dependable, not master of himself.

People who are masters of themselves do not necessarily have good characters, for "goodness" depends upon the observer's viewpoint. Doubtless millions of Germans believe that Hitler's character is good, although millions of other people look upon him as a moral monster. However that may be, strong people are those whom we describe as having integrated mind-egos, for we call the mind-ego that which is conscious of, hence responsible for, the individual's thoughts and actions.

Any sort of organized character, any unity of purpose or consistency of conduct depends upon a well organized, normally functioning mind-ego. This develops through a gradual evolution. Just as no man is born with an education, so no man is born with an individual ego. Only the capacity for that development is innate in man. An infant is not, or has not an ego; he is not psychologically integrated. He is merely a biological, not yet a psychological, individual. The development of the ego is comparable with the development of the individual body from the common racial germ stream.

In biology a species of animal or a race of people is viewed as a whole-continuum, as a succession of generations stretching from the remote past into the future. Biologists tell us that we may conceive of the generations of men as a long network, composed of innumerable strands, called the genes, (the material basis of heredity) which interlace and at intervals are caught up into knots. These knots flower into individuals; every human body is the prod-

uct of one such knot in the great network of genes which extends in unbroken continuity through the history of mankind back to its remote origin, presumably in animal life. The flower, the individual body, fades and drops out of the living continuum or network, but the network continues into the future producing other flowers, other individuals.⁹

Just as the biologist views each individual body as an excerpt from the racial gene network or continuum, the modern psychologist views the individual self as an excerpt from a psychological network or continuum, the collective racial mind or psyche. It is to Jung that we owe the complete formulation of this principle; he was the first psychologist to point out that the individual psyche is rooted in and nourished by a primordial psyche common to all men. This primordial psyche seems to be the analogue of our common biological heritage: Jung calls the former the collective unconscious. The existence of one is no more strange, no more mysterious than the existence of the other. Both are minor mysteries in the greater mystery of evolution.

If we feel that we stand on more solid ground when we discuss our bodies than when we discuss our minds, it is only because we can see and feel our bodies. Yet we are as far from explaining and understanding what we see and feel as we are from explaining how we reason or why we dream. It is as great a mystery how the body rallies its elaborate defenses against pneumonia or smallpox germs, as it is a mystery why the dreams of uneducated negroes have been known to reproduce the themes of Greek mythology: indeed cancer is as great a mystery as insanity. Only a naive imagination pictures our bodies as less mys-

terious than our minds: both are rooted in a common mystery, the mystery of life.

Your ego, your individual consciousness, what is called here your mind-ego, develops out of your unconscious self which in turn grows out of man's common human nature, the collective unconscious. The individual self rises like an islet out of this archaic collective psyche in which all selves and, basically, all life is merged. Evidences of the collective psyche are everywhere. Perhaps they are revealed most strikingly in the folklore and religious practices of all races which are fundamentally similar, as well as in the delusion of insane people which, psychiatrists have discovered, are strikingly similar in people of the most varied culture, tastes and background.

In the course of its evolution, the mind has acquired an inner or subjective environment which seems to serve a purpose similar to that of the "inner environment" of the body. It is unnecessary to remind the reader that biologists teach that our body cells live not in one environment but in two. One is of course our familiar external environment and the other is the "internal environment" of the body, that is the blood-lymph system which provides the internal climate best suited for the work of the body cells. Psychiatrists agree that the mind has evolved a corresponding internal environment which Jung calls the collective unconscious system or psyche. One of the triumphs of modern psychology is the discovery that, as the inner source of mental activity, the collective psyche corresponds with the physical world which is the outer source of mental activity.

The mind-ego may be said to live, then, not in one "environment" but in two, just as the body does. During

the course of evolution the mind has evolved an inner climate just as the body has, and this subjective climate has attained in man a high state of complexity. Now this inner mental environment comprises, among other things, a sort of psychological paraphrase of the outer world, just as the blood-lymph system is a sort of paraphrase of the body's former internal environment, namely the sea.¹⁰ Yet it must be remembered that the subjective system, like the blood-lymph system or inner environment of the body, has evolved not for what we may call the "purpose" of allowing the organism to escape the rigors of the external environment, but for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of its adaptation to that environment.

The subjective system may be described, then, as the inner environment of the mind-ego as the blood-lymph system is the inner environment of the individual body. This subjective system contains the inherited basic thought-patterns which are called archetypes. The archetypes or universal concepts, such as the idea of God, of immortality, as well as universal principles such as the concept of energy, all these are mankind's psychological heritage, a heritage of great antiquity. The archetypes are natural products of the collective psyche, basically alike however the details and the philosophical interpretations may differ, in men and women of every race and culture, of every level of intelligence.

The emergence of the unconscious self from the collective unconscious psyche is an event which might be compared with physiological birth. But the infant is only a physical individual, not a psychological individual. In the young child there is no conscious mind-ego because there is no consciousness of self as distinct from the rest

of nature. Therefore from the psychological point of view he is a collective, not an individual being.

It is normal, indeed it is inevitable, that at one stage of his development a person should be naively egocentric. It is hardly possible to imagine how a little child could be otherwise, so limited is his knowledge, so feeble his imagination and so weak his ability to understand the needs of other people. However, after the age of seven, egocentrism¹¹ declines rapidly in normal children. All the child's experience should aid him to overcome egocentrism and to gain, as he grows older, an increasing "altertendency."

The development of the self from the condition of unconscious, irresponsible infancy, to conscious, responsible adulthood may be conceived to comprise approximately three stages. The first stage is that of primitive unconsciousness in which the child is merely a collective, not an individual being. The infant gives evidence of being conscious of sensations and physical conditions, but he is obviously unconscious of his personal identity, therefore he is unconscious of himself on the psychological level at which adults are conscious. The second stage is one of awakening self-consciousness in which, because of the necessity of concentration on self in order to develop a conscious personal identity, the young person often reveals a self-centered attitude. The third stage is a state of conscious integrity which leads, or should lead to increasing altertendency.

One of the most important facts that we have come to know about the mind-ego of a normal adult is that it is conscious of its own selfhood, its continuous identity, and its continuous relation to and place in the outside world.

A person organizes his life and adapts to his individual experience on a basis of his consciousness of these two things. Without consciousness of a continuous personal identity and a continuous relation to the outside world, character and personal responsibility would be non-existent. It is all very well to study psychology in cross-section, if we do not lose sight of the fact that the most important thing about a normal mind-ego is that its adaptation does not consist of a medley of unorganized thoughts or reactions, but that it consists of, or is coincident with, a high state of organization which centers in consciousness of its own continuous identity to which every experience is referred. Adaptation¹² may be carried on at any one of several evolutionary levels, from that of an amoeba to that of a man, but at man's level, consciousness includes consciousness of historical selfhood.

It may seem perfectly obvious that the mind-ego exists as a continuum just as the body exists as a continuum. Nevertheless a clear recognition of the continuity of conscious selfhood which is the recognition of the molar (whole) aspect of the psyche as contrasted with molecular (part) view, is comparatively recent. Even today it is not as well understood as it should be. Yet when we stop to think of it, we realize that the mind-ego must go through time conscious of itself as well as the external world, and that this consciousness must be continuous, not mere shreds and patches here and there. For example, no one could have a dependable character who was conscious of where he was yesterday at noon, a toothache he had night before last, and what he did one day last week, if he were not sure of what had happened between times. We must be certain of our experiences as an unbroken

continuum for all our waking lives, if we are to be responsible human beings.

All minds pass through the same general evolution; the difference is that while the introvert strives to nourish self-esteem on his inner life from which he seeks to exclude every external influence, the extravert nourishes self-esteem on his relations with others. Hence the ego of the introvert feeds on itself (really on its relation to the collective unconscious system), while the ego of the extravert feeds on other people (really on his own feeling of relation to other people). That is what Jung means by his statement that the introvert's "movement of interest" is "toward the subject," the extravert's "toward the object." The latter movement of interest may seem more wholesome but an exaggerated movement of interest in either direction is undesirable.

That the ego must go through time conscious of its inner self as well as conscious of its relation to the external world is proved most strikingly in abnormal conditions in which people sometimes lose track of their own past and with it all sense of personal identity. This condition, which is manifest only by people who are mentally abnormal, is called amnesia or fugue: it is the extravert way of escape from reality.

A well-dressed middle-aged woman wandered aimlessly down a city street one Sunday afternoon. Approaching a policeman she hesitated, then asked him to help her find her way home.

"Where do you live?" asked the officer.

"That's just the trouble," she answered, embarrassed, "I don't know."

"What's your name?"

"I don't know that either. I can't remember. . . . I can't seem to remember anything."

At police headquarters a sympathetic lieutenant was able, by patient questioning and skillful inference, to help her patch together bits of her memory strand. As she sat talking with the officers she suddenly exclaimed, "I went to church this morning. The sermon was about loyalty." Then she remembered that she had been married in a certain church at a certain season. Finally she recalled the telephone number of a relative.

At last her story unfolded. She had suffered a financial loss so serious as to destroy her economic security. Worried to distraction, she could find no rational way out of her intolerable situation. Then in her desperate perplexity, it was as if a voice from her unconscious had whispered, "If you could get away from yourself, your troubles would be over," and it was as if her mind had yielded to the temptation and had followed the sinister suggestion. The woman was not conscious of any such mental process; she merely found herself alone on the street, unable to remember anything, even her own name.

This episode, which has been repeated thousands of times,¹³ illustrates by the exaggeration manifest only in people who are mentally unhealthy, the extravert principle of escape from reality. The extravert gets away from reality, specifically from his own difficulties, by getting away from himself. In this case, amnesia was the psychological trick by which the woman evaded her problem. It was only a faltering step on the road to a more complete dissociation, the road which Morton Prince's "Miss Beauchamp" and Shepherd Ivory Franz' "Poultney" followed.^{14, 15} Needless to say the loss of memory for one's

own past is not caused in these cases by what physicians call organic lesion, that is, physical damage. Under hypnosis these patients remember everything as well as normal people, often better than normal people. Amnesia is no simple failure of memory as is the case when one forgets a poem or a telephone number; it is a positive deletion of memories. It is obvious that no one could simply fail to remember his own name and past history; such an obliteration of memory serves some abnormal "purpose." And psychiatrists have discovered that the "purpose" is that of escape from painful reality, for amnesia acts as a mental anesthetic.

People who are subject to amnesia feel impotent to solve their problems. After struggling with a dilemma for days or weeks, the mind finds itself at last spent with its efforts, ready to resort to any psychological dodge which promises relief. Although the conscious mind is entirely ignorant of the process, psychiatrists agree that the unconscious psyche works out the plan of self amnesty and presto! the problem vanishes and along with it everything, good or bad, which stood for that person's past and his sense of identity. The past of the woman just mentioned was cut off sharply as if she had been born that morning, insofar as personal memories were concerned. Yet she adapted to the external world with her normal degree of sophistication. She retained the advantages of her past experience in the use of language and her familiarity with ordinary affairs; she lost only the thread of her identity which bound her to personal calamity.

This and other evidence points to the conclusion that the extravert's tendency is to sacrifice his subjective integrity, which includes his consciousness of a whole con-

tinuous self in order to remain, in the face of what he considers intolerable conditions, on good terms with his environment. In short, the extravert denies his subjective reality in order to affirm the reality of his relation to the outside world.

Amnesia is only one such extravert trick; hysterical manifestations and other abnormal states seem to serve the same unconscious objective. They lead the extravert to escape from reality by the same exit, that of self-oblivion partial or complete, by breaking the context of his consciousness as a self, that is a self with a continuous past and forcing him into complete dependence on his immediate relation to other people.

These rare abnormalities are instructive; they illustrate an important discovery of the new psychology. The discovery may be stated thus: one way of escaping from reality is by losing the context of one's personal identity, one's consciousness of a whole continuous self. Observation of people who suffer mental breakdowns suggests that when, for a certain type of person, the extravert, the conditions of life become intolerable or the task of adaptation too great a tax on his capacity, he develops that type of mental illness which cuts him off from his own past, from himself as a whole, continuous subject, but allows him to maintain, as best he can under so grave a handicap, his relations with the outside world.

The person with amnesia for his own name and life history faces the world without a past, meets today with little or no inkling of his yesterdays, recognizes houses, trees, words but not names, friends, or himself. Cases of amnesia, more common than is generally supposed because of the astuteness of these unfortunates in concealing their

infirmity, illustrate with unmistakable clearness the principle of the extravert way of escape from what we call "reality." When the extravert cannot face reality, it is the reality of himself, in some cases his personal identity, which he sacrifices in order to maintain his customary relations with the outside world. He gets away from his problems by getting away from himself, more or less, in one way or another. This is the exact opposite of the way in which the introvert escapes from reality.

In the introvert form of mental breakdown, the sufferer makes a retreat from contact with the external world by ensconcing himself inside a wall of hostility or indifference. In this way he is better able to concentrate on his problem, to study its effect on his own life, to relate it to the contents of his own psyche. The introvert does not lose track of his own past, does not become confused about his identity. On the contrary, he contemplates his problem in relation to these very things, in relation to his own inner life.

But an excessive preoccupation with the inner life involves an evil as great as the loss of personal identity. That evil is the loss of relationship with the external world. The introvert seems to shut himself away, to lose interest in, sometimes to become definitely hostile to the outside world. The introvert is therefore in as bad a case as the extravert, for whereas the latter is estranged from himself, the former is estranged from the world. But his retreat from the world is only incidental to the introvert's intense contemplation of his problem, to his studying it and brooding over it within the confines of his own mind. For it is from his relation to the subjective life that the introvert draws strength to meet calamity, and his estrangement

from the external world serves the purpose of acquainting him even more intimately with his inner resources.

If the woman who was faced with financial disaster had been an introvert, she would have taken a different way out of her difficulty, assuming of course that she had suffered from equally abnormal tendencies. She would have lost her contact with the external world more or less, but would have maintained a firm hold on the reality of her identity as a subject.

Among the voluminous writings of an introvert patient, one short document offers an unusually clear insight into the unconscious "purpose" behind the introvert's retreat from contact with the outer world. At the outbreak of a mental illness from which he has since recovered, this unusually intelligent person wrote:

And all in a flash I knew it wasn't God I had to fear,
Man was my enemy, not Nature.
And I watched the town
Fall into dusk, while on the hill the sun still shone. . . .
And I went down the hill slowly,
Slowly across the bridge and then home.
And all the storming and scolding fell away before my armour.
I withdrew into myself—it was a retreat
But then I thought that it was Victory.
At any rate I was at peace with my environment
Because I cared no more about it.

This man's "victory" consisted of retreating from the world, just as the extravert woman's "victory" consisted (although she was not aware of it) of retreating from herself. It is obvious that there is nothing to choose between the two mental abnormalities. Both types of mind retreated from what we call "reality"; the only difference was that the introvert retreated from the reality of his relation to the objective world. To the introvert the subject reality,

the reality of his own identity and his own inner experience, holds a higher value than the reality of his relation to the external world. For that reason in its breakdown the introvert's mind clings to its inner context, to its memories; it cherishes its own dreams even at the cost of denying its normal relation to the external world. In the introvert's case it is as if a voice from the unconscious had suggested, "If you could get away from the world, your problem would be solved" and so he barricades himself against intrusion, and finds in retreat from his environment, victory of a sort.

Bear in mind that although these conditions are rare because only mentally abnormal people fall into such states, the latter are the extremities, the ultimate exaggeration of the tendencies of normal extraverts and introverts. An interesting side light on this theory is Pavlov's discovery of the two forms of mental breakdown in his extravert and introvert dogs.^{16, 17}

The study of such abnormalities opened the way for the first profound insight into human nature that man has yet achieved. For insanity dissects the mind as the scalpel dissects the body, revealing its hidden structure. What is called here modern psychology explains underlying causes and, in this respect contrasts with those earlier psychologies, called scientific, which merely described behavior without any means of uncovering the deeper sources which alone afford an explanation of that behavior. Modern psychology began with the discovery of unconscious processes. Its great advances have been due chiefly to studies of abnormalities which, by exaggeration, disclose fundamental laws of all minds, laws which it is doubtful that the most careful study of normal people would ever have

brought to light. The great practical value of this knowledge is only beginning to be appreciated.

In closing, let me emphasize the fact that all mental diseases do not follow patterns so simple as my illustrations might suggest. There are as many kinds of those diseases as there are patients, and many show a bewildering mixture of tendencies. I selected the two common forms which illustrate most clearly the contrasting typical tendencies. These are basic in normal as well as abnormal manifestations of the two types of human nature.

We know that it is a grave mistake to accuse the introvert of failing to adapt to reality because he chooses the reality within himself in preference to the reality of his relation to the outer world. For it is evident that extraversion and introversion should be viewed as complementary principles of adaptation and that although individuals specialize in one or the other, neither principle can be suppressed entirely if one is to adapt normally. Just as there are what we may call these two aspects of normal adaptation, these two roads by which we may approach reality, the way of introversion and the way of extraversion, so there are also two ways of escape from normal adaptation, two exits by which the mind may flee from reality.

It is not known what part "predisposition" plays in mental disease but it is believed that severe mental and emotional stresses are likely to impair mental health, just as fatigue and exposure to severe heat or cold are likely to impair physical health. Pavlov induced mental breakdowns in some of his dogs by giving them problems which they were unable to solve. His work led him to conclude that some dogs possess greater inherent nervous stability than others.

Although introversion and extraversion have nothing to do with mental abnormality, I have offered these examples of the two general types of mental abnormality, the introvert (neurasthenic) and the extravert (hysterical) type to illustrate the result of an exclusive preoccupation either with the subjective or the objective aspect of experience. For normal adaptation requires that the mind acknowledge both aspects of experience and although a native tendency to place greater emphasis on one than the other produces the familiar type contrast, normal people maintain a psychic balance which prevents the complete suppression of the opposite principle.

Summary

In an effort to explain the relation of introversion and extraversion to the psychological economy as a whole and to dispel the confusion which seems to be responsible for many mistakes, I called attention to three points connected with the development of the mind-ego.

First, the ego is the conscious individual part of the psyche, rooted in the collective unconscious out of which it has evolved through a gradual process which seems to be analogous with the body's evolution from the racial gene continuum. During the evolution of the psyche from its primitive unconscious state to a state of conscious integrity, the condition of egocentrism arises as an inevitable stage common to both types.

Secondly, the ego is dependent on, or coincident with, a conscious context of memory which leaves no gaps in personal history but stretches as an unbroken continuum from early childhood onward. Without this unbroken con-

text of memory, a sense of personal identity and responsibility would be impossible. To illustrate the dependence of the normal mind upon this context of personal memories I cited the case of a woman who lost her identity. It is chiefly through such abnormal manifestations that we learn the importance of the normal, unbroken memory context.

Observation points to the fact that the extravert tends to get away from his problems by getting away from himself in one way or another. Amnesia affords the clearest illustration of this form of escape, although there are many other forms.

Thirdly, the ego is equally dependent upon its relations with the external world. The introvert form of mental breakdown seems to result in a solitary wrestling with personal problems which leads to retreat from, often antagonism to, every external influence and relation.

Extraverts are continuously attentive to their relation to the people and events in the outside world. Introverts are continuously attentive to and aware of their inner impressions, which may be of the people and events in the outside world. In short, the extravert is continuously attentive to his relation to and effect on other people and things; the introvert is continuously attentive to the way in which other people and things affect him.

In crises when the mind breaks under the stress of despair, each type clings to that aspect of experience which is more familiar, more important to him. That is why the extravert patient clings to his relation to the external world at the cost of losing track (more or less) of himself. That is why the introvert clings to his subjective reality and concentrates on the effect within himself of his experience,

but loses track (more or less) of his relation to the external world.

We have seen that it is possible to trace certain traits of extraverts and introverts to a fundamental difference in mental orientation or attitude. But only by understanding the latter can we come to understand the former; only by a deeper insight into the principles which underlie the psychology of extraverts and introverts can the medley of traits which we observe be understood systematically and the questions at the beginning of the book answered intelligently. This brings us to the two contexts of experience and to the different accomplishments of extraverts and introverts.

CHAPTER 5

HOW THE WORLD LOOKS TO THE TYPES THE TWO CONTEXTS

Although the development of the conscious self out of the collective unconscious psyche may be thought of as a general evolutionary trend in both types, we know that the difference not only in their traits but in their basic outlook on life is the result of their different orientations to experience. It is as if one type approached experience from the outside; the other from the opposite direction, from the inside.

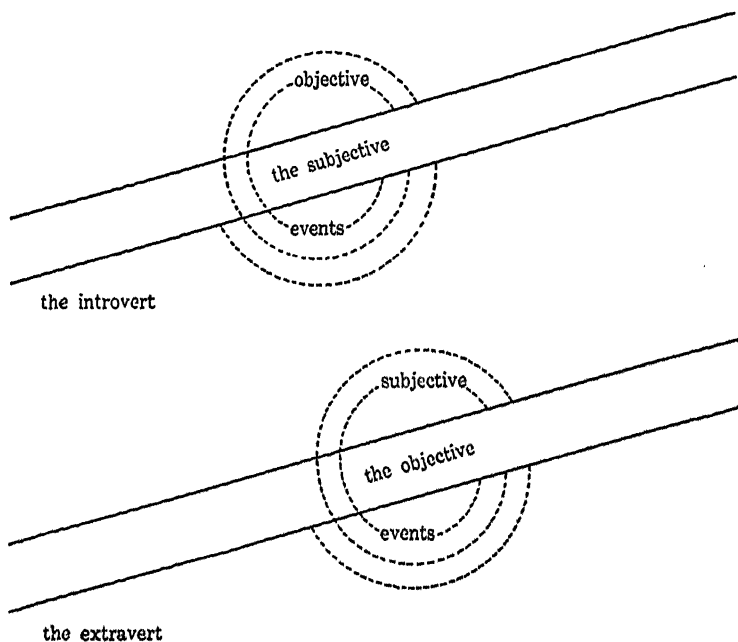
Because the conscious mind-ego is a continuum or context we may consider its relation to the subjective or objective world as a context also. Instead of speaking as philosophers do, of the "object" and the "subject," I call these aspects of experience the objective and subjective "contexts" to denote their relation to the conscious mind.

The mental functions—thinking, feeling, sensation, etc.—are treated by Jung in connection with introversion and extraversion. For the sake of simplicity it is necessary for me to omit the function classifications, but the serious student is advised to consult "Psychological Types."¹⁸

One type of mind focuses attention directly on external events which it therefore sees as an unbroken continuum; it is inattentive or only rarely attentive to inner impressions.

YOUR PERSONALITY

But the other type of mind, facing in the opposite direction, focuses attention directly on subjective impressions which it sees as an unbroken continuum; it is, consequently, inattentive, or only rarely attentive to its relation to events in their purely external aspect.



THE TWO CONTEXTS

Now although the present intellectual vogue, especially in the United States, includes a prejudice in favor of what we call the objective world, many scientists lately have been convinced that the subjective world, by virtue of the universal similarity of its products (myths, religious ideas, general concepts, etc.), is just as real and just as clearly entitled to its share of attention. Indeed it is the

combination of the two systems which produces what we call "reality." For how can there be knowledge which represents the objective aspect of reality, without the process of knowing which represents the subjective aspect?

Now obviously this division of experience into objective and subjective categories is purely an intellectual device. Yet every sort of theoretical discrimination which human beings make is equally intellectual, and may well be peculiar to the mind's own nature. Nevertheless this form of discrimination has proved to be not only practical but indispensable in our dealings with what we call the real world, the world of atoms and electrons as well as the world of our human nature. Therefore we have a right to say that, little as we know about the nature of what we call "reality," our experience seems to have two sides or aspects, that which takes place within the subject and that which takes place in the outer world. On one side move those events which are continuously happening in the external world, some of them known and some unknown; and on the other side move those events which are continuously taking place within the self, some of them conscious and some unconscious. The extravert is primarily interested in his relation to the former and the introvert in his relation to the latter.

It is clear that when Jung says that the extravert's interest follows objective happenings¹⁰ he does not mean that the extravert has a superior insight into the nature of external reality; he means that the extravert's interest is attracted primarily to his own relation to the outside or objective context. Nor does the introvert's interest in the subjective context endow him with a superior insight into the nature of the human mind. His interest is attracted to his own

experience of the subjective or inner world, not to the nature of that world in itself.

Formerly only philosophers were concerned with such abstractions as the subjective and objective aspects of experience because scientists, as well as practical men, took it for granted that they were dealing with strictly objective things in a strictly external world. But this was a mere illusion which, during the present century, has been dispelled for all time. At present even physicists who deal with what seem to be the most objective phenomena, recognize the subjective component of nature and question whether their findings are not as representative of the point of view of the discoverer as they are representative of something strictly non-mental.²⁰ But we are not concerned with philosophical speculations and I call attention to them here principally because it is intellectually wholesome to acknowledge the limitations of our own minds and to reconcile ourselves to the relativity of our knowledge, especially our knowledge about the mind itself.

For us the significant fact is that the fundamental difference between extraverts and introverts has to do with a person's continuous attention to one context of events, or one "side" of experience. For we know that each type sees one context directly, that is, as a whole-continuum, while he sees the opposite context indirectly and only in part-segments. Exactly what does this mean?

It means that the introvert is continuously responsive to the relation of external things to his own inner life, that he responds to people and things because of some inner need, some definite subjective urge to do so. The extravert, on the other hand, is hardly conscious of any inner need; he has his back turned to his inner life, which

he sees not directly or as a whole but only through its connection with the external context, that is through his relation to people and things outside him.

In casual contacts with strangers the attachment of extraverts and introverts to one of the two contexts is revealed most clearly. We know that an extravert relishes talking with almost everybody because by talking with people he establishes a direct overt relation with them, however unimportant to his own inner needs, ideas and purposes that relation may be. The extravert sees himself as part of a context of external relationships and, instinctively, he acts so as to fulfill what he believes to be the requirements of that context.

Let us watch Mrs. Ex and Mrs. Inn who happen to be visiting in a strange city and are invited to a country club where their hostess introduces them to a group of people on the terrace. Mrs. Ex, always lively and talkative, immediately seeks to form personal relations with these strangers. Although she has never seen them before and never expects to see them again, their very presence stimulates her to express herself, to leave with them an impression of herself.

Mrs. Inn, on the contrary, is even more quiet and detached than usual. Although she is agreeable to friendly advances, she makes no effort to impress herself on these people for they have no subjective claim upon her. Far from finding them stimulating as Mrs. Ex does, Mrs. Inn finds in them a challenge against which she must defend herself. She is conscious of these strangers not as a sort of general stimulus to self-expression; rather she is conscious of members of the group as distinct individuals in all their variety, with their differences in temperament,

tastes and inclinations sticking out like the spines on a cactus. She is, therefore, unable to form a simple ready personal relation with them; she forms personal relations only with people who have some subjective connection with her, not as Mrs. Ex does, purely as the result of their stimulating presence. The rule is this: to the extravert the objective relation is primary and direct; he views it as an unbroken context and responds to it continuously. To the introvert the subjective relation is primary and direct; he views it as an unbroken context and responds to it continuously.

Here is another example of the introvert's reserve in casual contacts. One of my friends, an extravert, and her husband, an introvert, chanced to meet an acquaintance whom neither knew well, on a suburban train. The wife had heard that the acquaintance was interested in short-wave radio, which was her husband's hobby, and in order to promote conversation she forthwith launched into a discussion of short-wave transmitters although she knew little or nothing about the subject and had little personal interest in it. Her husband, really interested in the topic, sat mum probably because, having no interest in the acquaintance, he felt no impulse to make conversational overtures. The introvert values a specific personal contribution to a conversation or a relationship; he does not value talk which springs from a mere desire to convert a chance meeting into a social adventure.

From the introvert's point of view all relationships must lie along a line parallel to his subjective context. Any relationship, such as that which results from a chance meeting with a man who happens to have similar interests, arises out of the objective situation and is therefore without sig-

nificance for the introvert. It is not that he is cold or unfriendly; it is simply that friendliness or unfriendliness has nothing to do with the situation, so far as he is concerned. He is not necessarily irked by such chance meetings; he is simply not stimulated to make a personal response. Therefore he has no impulse to enter into a relation which from his point of view has neither value nor significance. Unless the introvert feels a definite personal or business interest in a man or woman, an interest which would enable him to extract some sort of subjective meaning from the association, he is not moved to make any contact, beyond a formal greeting perhaps, with that man or woman. He is not necessarily unable to do so if he feels that someone he loves expects it of him, or if there is some other reason for him to "be nice." The point is that his "being nice" to strangers (unless by chance as rarely happens, they make an immediate strong personal appeal to him thereby arousing a truly subjective response) is labored and dutiful in contrast with the spontaneous sociability of the extravert even toward people in whom he feels not the slightest permanent interest.

Because she is an extravert, the wife whom I just described felt an urge to make conversation, to develop the chance meeting into a little social occasion, and for that reason her impulse was to talk to a man in whom she had no particular interest about a topic in which she had no particular interest, simply to promote personal contact among the three people. For the extravert this is a spontaneous urge, not an effort, although occasionally he may find it an effort to think up a topic of conversation. Usually however, extraverts are supplied with a pocket full of verbal small change which they disburse rather freely,

while introverts seem to carry only large conversational bills which they hesitate to spend. In business or other necessary dealings the introvert speaks freely enough, but when he talks his conversation has point; it serves a purpose beyond that of pure gregariousness.

The extravert is "all things to all men" in a psychological sense: not that he is a hypocrite but simply that he is versatile and adaptable in forming overt relations, temporary or lasting, according to what he believes to be the requirements of external circumstance.

The introvert, on the contrary, is not "all things to all men" in a psychological sense (although he may or may not be a hypocrite). He is everything to a few men and practically nothing to the rest. He may be the most polite, kindly and well-disposed man in the world, yet he cannot throw himself freely into casual associations because for him a subjective bond is the indispensable basis of all personal contacts between man and man. Furthermore the extravert talks freely about his own affairs to almost everyone, while introverts cannot discuss anything of personal importance with people whom they dislike.

An example of this last was an incident at a summer resort. A young married couple, the husband an introvert, the wife an extravert, joined a group of five or six people on the hotel terrace one evening. All the members of the group knew each other casually but both husband and wife disliked one man, a Mr. Jones. Soon Mr. Jones mentioned that he had gone to school with a Mr. Smith, now a prominent architect, and that he admired him very much. It happened that Mr. Smith was a close and beloved friend of the introvert husband, so when Mr. Smith's name was mentioned, the extravert wife expected her husband

to speak up, announce that Mr. Smith was his good friend and perhaps give news of him. On the contrary, the husband said not a word, letting the conversation about his friend flow on as if he had never heard of him, until one of the other men turned to him and asked point-blank if he knew Mr. Smith. The husband hesitated, then replied reluctantly, "Why yes-s, I know him."

But the wife could not restrain herself. "Know him!" she exclaimed. "Why, John Smith is one of my husband's closest friends. They've known each other for years; their offices are in the same building, and they always lunch together whenever they have a chance."

Although the wife knew the other members of the group no better than her husband did, and although she too disliked Mr. Jones, she was so interested in the conversation and so naturally self-expressive that she felt her customary urge to speak regardless of who happened to be present. Indeed the extravert cannot understand how a person could keep silent about such a matter; for him it would be almost impossible.

But being an introvert, her husband felt a definite distaste for revealing anything about his relation with a friend, particularly a friend who meant much to him, to casual acquaintances; and this distaste was exaggerated because of his personal dislike of Mr. Jones. That is why he could hear his friend discussed at length without making the slightest contribution to the conversation; on the contrary, his impulse was to guard the relationship from such casual discussion. It is as if the introvert's friendships, indeed everything to which he attaches a high personal value, were too precious to be aired before strangers.

Not only are introverts continuously aware of the sub-

jective context and extraverts continuously aware of the objective, equally important is the fact that the extravert's subjective state derives from and is dependent on his relation to events in the outside world, while the introvert's relation to the outside world derives from and is dependent on his subjective state.

For example, an introvert can be at times somewhat friendly and cordial even to strangers but only if all is well subjectively, if his mood is right and he has no worries or cares. If anything goes wrong with the introvert's subjective life he cannot make any response, even his usual meager one, to the external world. On the other hand, an extravert may have something preying on his mind and disturbing his subjective tenor, yet provided this is not extremely serious, he can throw himself into a pleasant enterprise or entertainment of some sort and for the time being "forget" his troubles. Perhaps this throws light on some of the questions mentioned at the beginning of the book.

An understanding of the basic orientation of the two types affords a clue not only to the contrasting traits of the types but to the fundamentally different points of view on intellectual, particularly philosophical matters. I need only refer the reader to "Psychological Types,"²¹ since the problem has been treated so exhaustively in that work, especially in Chapters I and VIII, and in the descriptions of introvert and extravert thinking to be found under the heading "General Description of the Types." However, let me point out here the interesting fact that according to one's natural tendency to favor the objective or the subjective context, two opposed views of "truth" or "reality," two scales of intellectual value have arisen, the

positivist and materialist versus the idealist and rationalist points of view.

For the extravert the outside world holds the immediate reality, while for the introvert reality lies within the subjective domain. Although neither necessarily denies the theoretical existence of the opposite reality, his native tendency is to view it as relatively unimportant, as most Englishmen view political events in China, and presumably, most Chinese view political events in England. Obviously these are not considered opinions which people have analyzed and can define; they are native intellectual prejudices almost entirely unrecognized. Indeed, as soon as people recognize them as prejudices they have already begun to outgrow them.

Introverts live facing the subjective context which they view as a whole-continuum. Therefore it harbors their enduring realities as Plato and Hegel and other so-called idealists have defined them. The phenomena of the objective world seem to them ephemeral and inessential in contrast with the enduring ideas, categories and principles of which the phenomena are mere illustrations.

But the extravert sees reality from the opposite point of view. He lives facing the objective context, the world of experiment and demonstration which he views as a whole-continuum. He has little interest in the introvert philosophers' categories and essential principles which seem to derive from and depend on the concrete facts. He believes that the objective world harbors the permanent realities, as Hobbes, Comte and the positivists and materialists have defined the realities.

One of the most interesting examples of the contrast between the thinking of extravert and introvert philoso-

phers is revealed in Karl Marx's statement that the dialectic of Hegel must be "turned right side up." Hegel's thinking was typical of the introvert. To him the progress of events, the course of history revealed a fundamental principle which represented the essential reality of the universe. His dialectic was conceived from the subjective point of view.

For that reason it appeared upside down to Marx whose thinking was typical of the extravert. To Marx, the progress of objective events holds the clue to history, while principles are only incidental reflections of the former. Thus to one type of mind, Hegel the introvert, the prime mover in the dialectical process was an abstract principle, while to the other type of mind, Marx the extravert, the material world was the prime mover in the dialectical process and principles the mere shadows of material things. It is evident therefore that Marx's dialectical materialism expresses the typical extravert viewpoint.

In many intellectual fields the contrasting points of view of extravert and introvert have nurtured rival theories. In psychology, for example, Jung points out that Freud stressed the importance of the individual's relation with others, particularly his sexual relations, while Adler, representing the introvert point of view, stressed the power instinct which leads the individual to seek above all, independence and self-conservation.

Introvert philosophers incline to a belief in free will because they concede the power and importance of the subject, while extraverts incline to determinism because, to them, the subject is always determined by external forces, as to Marx the course of history seemed to be determined by economic necessity.

Just as introvert philosophers, poets, and mystics have

distrusted the external world with its changes and contradictions and have tried to discover beneath it an immutable fundamental reality, so extravert philosophers have distrusted the subjective side of life. One prejudice is no worse than the other, but it is the latter prejudice which at present often masquerades as the "scientific" point of view, with which it has not the most remote legitimate connection. Nevertheless, so great is the current prejudice against the "merely subjective" that it is difficult to convince many people that subjective facts, for instance, the facts of what a person thinks and feels, hopes and fears are just as real, just as much a part of nature as the fact that iron is heavier than cork. It is suggested that this prejudice which amounted, at least until recently, to an intellectual fad has proved a serious handicap to the American psychologist in his attempt to understand Jung's work on the psychological types.

Although experiment is indispensable in science, sound theory and rational insight are equally indispensable. And however fruitless are speculation and reason unsupported by demonstrable evidence, a blind addiction to experiment and the heaping up of objective data in disregard of essential principles is equally fruitless. For science consists not alone of gathering and recording facts, but of organizing the facts so as to make possible the discovery of general laws which are not only indispensable to our understanding of known facts but indispensable to the progress of knowledge in that they serve as the basis of fresh experiments. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that sterile empiricism is in no way superior to morbid mysticism. Either is the result of a view of the world from off-center; both are partial, incomplete, biased. An exaggeration of the

extravert point of view produces the former, an exaggeration of the introvert point of view, the latter.

Although unappreciated in the United States, Jung's discovery that this natural tendency to emphasize either the subjective or objective aspect of experience is the source of many philosophical and scientific controversies, stands as one of the major intellectual contributions of our time. So long as men look upon what we call "reality" as the product either of mind or of material things, they will continue to engage in unprofitable wrangles over the superiority of twiddle dee and twiddle dum. Only after we realize that each thinker naturally seeks reality in the context congenial to his psychological type, can we begin to correct our own defects of intellectual vision and take a more "altertensive" view of the world. For unless, as frequently happens, education compels him to serve a philosophy which embodies the dominant thought pattern of his time, an introvert's thinking is naturally idealistic-rationalistic. And the introvert thinker doubtless feels, at moments when he is not making obeisance to alien idols, some native urge to seek the meaning of life in his inner impressions of things rather than in his outward relation to them. History teaches that different thought patterns dominate different peoples at different times. At present our American pattern is predominantly extravert, while that of the Orient, particularly India, is predominantly introvert.

It is as if two men stood looking at a great hollow globe, one from the outside and the other from the inside. Both men see the same thing, the wall of the globe; but to the man outside the wall looks convex, while to the one inside it looks concave. To the man outside it is obvious

that the sphere is convex; he would describe it as "really" convex, and if you ventured to express a doubt about it he might accuse you of not seeing the real globe but only an imaginary one. Only if the men can be persuaded to change places will they learn that concavity and convexity are aspects of the same thing, depending entirely upon the observer's point of view. Only after each man has learned that there is another legitimate point of view besides his own, will he discover that the nature of a hollow globe is such that its wall is "really" concave and "really" convex too, depending on how you look at it. Now it is apparent why extraverts fall into the error of assuming that only they are looking at the "real" world and that the introvert is looking away from reality into a world of his own fancy. But the fact is that normal introverts, as well as normal extraverts, look at what sane men agree to call the "real" world, and adapt to the real world too.

Whether in individuals or in groups the two principles, the introvert and the extravert, are always present, despite the fact that one is emphasized at the expense of the other. We must not suppose, for example, that extraverts are never conscious of their subjective states: the point is, first, that they are directly conscious of them only rarely, at intervals rather than continuously, and secondly, that the states themselves are largely determined by objective events. Nor must we imagine that introverts are never conscious of objective events; the point is, first, that they are directly conscious of them only rarely, at intervals rather than continuously, and secondly, that their relations to objects is largely determined by the subjective state.

For it is evident that because extraverts are thinking subjects, they must have an inner psychic life and must be

conscious of their inner impressions and subjective states at times. But these times are few with gaps between, whereas extraverts are directly and primarily aware of their relation to objective conditions continuously. Furthermore those objective conditions have the power to alter the extravert's subjective state (which exists continuously although it is not noticed continuously) because the extravert's subjective state is influenced by and also must be expressed in the objective context. That is evident from the fact that the extravert discusses his thoughts and expresses his emotions and personal responses so freely. He is not definitely aware of those responses so long as they remain "merely" subjective; he becomes aware of them only insofar as he places them in the objective context; thereby relating himself to the outside world. For the extravert is not able to deal with his experience independently, within his own mind, as the introvert is.

The introvert stands facing his subjective continuum and is conscious of the meaning and value of experience within his own mind, within himself. It is as if his back were turned to the objective relations which he sees only at intervals as they are reflected in the surface which he faces. But he sees his inner life and the relation of external things to it, as a whole-context.

Both types, therefore, catch intermittent glimpses of the side or aspect of experience which lies behind them. Nevertheless, because each knows but the cruder aspects of the opposite side of experience, because he rarely gets a clear view of it, each is more or less entangled in a naive prejudice that his own point of view is the normal point of view, his own value the true value, his own position the right position. For it is only natural to view alien and unfam-

miliar things as suspect, and as a back countryman is contemptuous of people who cannot speak his language, so extraverts are likely to be contemptuous of the introvert point of view and introverts of the extravert. It is only after we begin to outgrow native bias that we are able to realize that other points of view, like other languages, are as worthy of respect as our own. Thus, we no longer argue about concavity or convexity but realize that they are merely different aspects of the same thing, depending solely on the observer's point of view.

We might compare the attention of the two types to the two aspects of experience with the interests of a married couple, a business man and his wife, a homemaker. The husband is perfectly aware of the general conditions in his home but is attentive to them only at intervals, especially when something goes wrong, whereas he is aware of his business affairs continuously as an unbroken context. With the wife the contexts are reversed. It is she who is aware of the affairs in her household in an unbroken context, while she is aware of her husband's business only now and then, usually in emergencies.

Introverts are directly conscious of objective conditions only now and then, for they are conscious primarily of subjective conditions which they view as a continuum, as the husband views his business affairs. Extraverts are conscious of subjective conditions only now and then, for they are conscious primarily of objective conditions which they view as a continuum, as the housewife views her household routine. Except in emergencies when the opposite context compels attention, insofar as each is able to experience the opposite context, it is through the mediation of his preferred context. For example, an extravert

realizes his own feeling for one he truly loves not directly within his own mind, but indirectly, through his overt relation to her. He must express and demonstrate his love in order to experience it fully himself.

But an introvert realizes his feeling for one he truly loves directly within his own mind. He meditates on it, contemplates the loved image, draws the impression which she makes on him deep into his soul. And his outward expression is only what is left over from the rich inner feeling in which his soul is steeped. It is as if the "context" could be turned about and the extravert saw his subjective relation only as it is reflected in his overt relation to his sweetheart, while the introvert saw the overt relation only as it is reflected in his subjective inner relation.

To put it differently, to the extravert his inner life is a sort of parasite on external things, while to the introvert external things are merely parasites of the inner life. For the two types host and parasite are reversed, and each must turn the other's view of the world "right side up" because, to him, it appears inverted.

Although the subjective and objective contexts are figures of speech, they seem to be exact because whatever the mind-ego may be,²² its chief function seems to be to coordinate experience at the conscious level, to enable us to view experience not in shreds and patches but as an unbroken whole-continuum. A person's attention to one aspect of that continuum in preference to the other aspect gives to each type not only a characteristic temperament but a characteristic mental viewpoint as well.

As we continue to explore the differences between the types, the reader will discover for himself that the concept of the two "contexts" serves a practical purpose by pro-

viding systematic insight into such a medley of seemingly unrelated traits and habits as were suggested by the questions on page one, traits which present only a tangle of contradictions to those who lack theoretical grounding.

Actually the type contrast comprises two parts of which "version" is the basis. An analysis of these leads to the conclusion that anyone's habit of attending continuously to one or the other context engenders what might be called different accomplishments, different skills as landsmen and seamen develop the different skills connected with farming and fishing.

CHAPTER 6

HOW THE TYPES DEAL WITH EXPERIENCE THE TWO ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The special skill or accomplishment of extraverts is what I shall call rapport; of introverts what I shall call incorporation. These "accomplishments" are the result of the mind-ego's attachment to the objective or subjective context, especially as it affects one's relations with people. Jung does not use the terms "rapport" or "incorporation," nor does he stress the social aspect of what I call the "accomplishments." I do so only because this aspect seems to me to be of general interest.

Although extraverts naturally deal directly with everything in the external world and introverts with their inner impressions, which include impressions of the external world, it is in their dealings with other human beings that the difference between the types is most striking and, from a practical standpoint, most interesting. What I call the extravert's accomplishment gives him the appearance of being in intimate relation with the people around him, while the introvert's accomplishment frequently gives him the appearance of being detached, rapt in an inner life. Although the introvert often appears abstracted and absent-minded, we must remember that while his mind is absent from one context of events that absence is the result of his mind's being present and attentive to the other context.

By rapport I mean to indicate the extravert's natural, direct, personal response to all sorts of people. Actually the extravert feels himself into, that is, feels related to everything outside himself, but his accomplishment is most clearly revealed in his contact with people. Rapport suggests ease, freedom and confidence in dealing with friend and foe, stranger and intimate, anyone and everyone in a direct, person-to-person relationship. This accomplishment is the result of the extravert's urge to spend himself, to extend himself as if he were actually a part of the objective world. Rapport is the process by which a man experiences himself through his relation to the people around him.

Let me warn the reader that my use of the word rapport does not imply a necessarily harmonious relation to other people. Indeed, the extravert is able to establish a personal contact on any footing whatsoever according to his character, education and what he conceives to be the requirements of the situation itself. In his natural affiliation with the people around him the extravert is relatively free and untrammelled; he is able to take the part of friend or foe, of advocate or detractor. Neurotic tendencies may interfere with this natural ability, but the normal extravert performs the accomplishment and even the abnormal one feels an urge to do so, although his efforts may be unsuccessful.

Friendly or unfriendly, tolerant or critical, peaceful or pugnacious, the extravert is himself most completely when he bridges the gap between himself and others. Unless he has good reason for not doing so he establishes his habitual contact, that is, he participates directly in personal relations whenever circumstances permit. Because he "finds

himself" in his relation to the objective world the extravert needs, indeed he is dependent on other people; the exercise of his typical accomplishment requires them as the exercise of the pianist's accomplishment requires a piano. Because rapport is obvious in all the extravert's relations, even the most casual, it requires little explanation.

But I face a different task when I undertake to explain the introvert's accomplishment. Although it is a process as positive as digestion, it is, like digestion, one which goes on unseen. Therefore I have not only the task of explaining it but of proving, at least to youthful extravert readers, that it exists. An extravert's chief means of understanding the introvert's accomplishment lies in a careful study of individuals, generally over long periods of rather intimate association, supplemented by a study of the writings of gifted introverts, especially poets.* But in order to discover it, the extravert must know what he is looking for, which is not easy, judging from my own experience. Furthermore I feel bound to warn the reader that because I lack direct experience of introversion, mine is an extravert's interpretation of introversion.

For want of a better term, I shall call the introvert's accomplishment "incorporation." In contrast with the extravert, whose tendency is to put himself into a wide variety of contacts with people, the introvert draws or infuses his impressions of people (actually of everything) into his own mind. While the extravert is continuously relating himself to the world around him, the introvert is continuously relating the world around him, or rather selected portions of it, to himself. While the extravert is busy making himself a part of the external world, the

* See "Suggested Reading."

introvert is no less busy, although we cannot see it, making the external world a part of himself. The extravert is aware of what he does to the world around him but he is not aware of what the world around him does to him, psychologically. Yet perhaps what the world does to you is no less worthy of attention than what you do to the world. Extraverts are continuously aware of the latter, introverts of the former.

Introversion and extraversion seem to be analogous with flows of energy in opposite directions, therefore they are mutually counteractive. Like a strong tide, extraversion sweeps everything outward before it. But the tide of introversion sweeps everything inward, sucking in impressions of the world which the introvert incorporates into the substance of his mind. He assimilates certain of these impressions to his own subjective system of which they gradually become an integral part, for incorporation is a process of psychological assimilation.

The introvert's accomplishment is a talent for making the world, or rather selected portions of it, a part of himself. But he does not incorporate all his experiences, only those which are congenial to his own inner principle. For he continuously tries to exercise his selective power, to permit or to prevent the passage of any experience over his subjective frontier. That is the reason for his reserve in strange company. For example, he may be forced to talk to a person whom he finds distasteful, to whom he can make no real response. Against that person he exercises his reserve to the end that nothing will happen to affect the introvert deeply enough to pass over his subjective frontier.

On the other hand any experience, however slight and

fleeting, with a person in whom the introvert feels a personal interest is gladly carried over the inner threshold and incorporated into the subjective life. The introvert's impressions of the people he loves are made part of his subjective context by the process of incorporation, as aliens are made citizens of a country by the process of naturalization. Thus what was formerly objective is "naturalized" so that it now enjoys a subjective status. These impressions of other people (and things) form part of the personal subjective context. They are not the whole of it, however. The individual subjective life is but a portion, the conscious top layer, of the continuous, for the most part unconscious, subjective life of the race, which is a cosmos having its own laws, dealing according to its own inherited tendencies with the material of experience.

Let us look again at the contrast in the accomplishments of the two types. The extravert lives, psychologically, in the external world or rather in his own relation to that world. Impressions of the external world live in the introvert. The introvert's subjective context contains these impressions of formerly objective things, especially people, which he has incorporated into his own inner life. Incorporation is no instantaneous process: it is a process of psychological absorption and assimilation which takes time.

Anybody whom the introvert has incorporated is no longer treated as part of the objective world but as part of the introvert's subjective context. The introvert therefore relates to that person not as he would relate to strange people but as if that person were part of his very self. That is why he can be himself most freely only when he is with incorporated people. Therefore when I say that introverts resist the objective world I mean the unincorporated

objective world. To people (actually in the objective world) whom the introvert has incorporated into his subjective life, he may be, at times, as responsive as an extravert is freely responsive to all people at almost all times.

Here is the point in the introvert's resistance to personal contact with strangers. It is a spontaneous defense against the invasion and disruption of his sensitive inner life. It is not from misanthropy that the introvert hesitates before taking the plunge into strange social waters, but because any genuine bestowal of interest in strangers leads him to a sort of psychological self-commitment. For, as we shall see, the introvert is deeply susceptible to the influence of the people whom he admits into his subjective life.

Through the process of incorporation, his experiences become a sort of inner law by which the introvert must henceforth abide. The only way in which he can escape this inner alteration, this psychological self-commitment, is by retiring behind his psychological barrier into the sanctum of the self. When he resorts to this device his real self seems to be hidden behind a conventional facade of aloofness, indifference or timidity, depending on individual peculiarities. It is as if he stood behind an invisible barrier, a psychological wall.

It is somewhat difficult for extraverts to understand what I mean by incorporation but the point will be amplified. Meanwhile let me emphasize the fact that, although the introvert process involves the indrawing of impressions of the outside world into the subjective domain, incorporation is not simply memory; it is rather the organization of memory according to an inner principle, a subjective law.

It is as if an ordinary memory left a "trace" more or less complete, more or less permanent, like a line drawn in pencil, ordinary ink or indelible ink on a sheet of wood or metal. No one knows what memory is, and the use of the word "trace" is purely figurative. Extraverts, as well as introverts, retain these mnestic traces. But in addition to this more or less complete, more or less lasting trace, introverts accomplish a sort of psychological labor which consists of a special form of assimilation of selected experiences or aspects of experience. By this process, called incorporation, the memory trace is deepened as if bitten out by acid or ground by friction, until the pattern becomes worked through the metal and impressed upon a deeper layer of material, a layer which is part of another system. Now the memory is not only impressed on, but assimilated to this inner system, that is, it undergoes definite shaping according to the inner principle in becoming a part of the inner system. This is true of all psychological assimilation which occurs also in extraverts. The difference is that extraverts are hardly conscious of its effect on the inner life, while this effect is what counts most with introverts.

The foregoing analogy is obviously weak because we are dealing with psychological processes rather than with solid materials or fixed patterns. Yet inadequate as it is, it does seem to illustrate a point which is not easy to make clear: that is that while memory is common to all normal people, the process which I call incorporation, which is the conscious relating of impressions of experience to an inner context, is the special accomplishment of introverts, just as rapport, which is the conscious relating of experience to an external context, is the special accomplishment of extraverts. Let me repeat, the introvert's accomplishment

involves an *approfondissement* in which his personal experiences become assimilated to that system which is a part of the inherent psychic constitution of mankind. And we know that the subjective system or context includes, among other things, a sort of living mirror of the external world.

To put it another way, by incorporation the introvert assimilates his impression of a person (who is a part of the objective world) to his subjective context. So long as that person remains purely alien or external, the introvert's tendency is to stay behind his customary barrier of reserve or indifference. But once that person touches a subjective cord, once he starts a vibration which harmonizes with the introvert's inner vibration, the introvert then absorbs that person, draws an impression of him out of the objective world and gradually incorporates that impression into his own subjective context. Obviously an introvert may remember a person without incorporating that person. But once he lets down his subjective barricade and incorporates the person, the impression of that person will remain, for the alteration in the introvert's subject will endure. Henceforth the introvert's relation to that person will be different from his relation to an unincorporated person. For the introvert has made that person part of himself; therefore, for him, the person is no longer objective, no longer part of the purely external context, but also part of the subjective context. Thus, a man's wife, children, his special friends are like a part of himself. There are degrees of incorporation, just as there are degrees of rapport. But the introvert's incorporation of a beloved wife or child represents the acme of incorporation, just as an extravert's rapport with a beloved wife or child represents the acme of rapport. (The normal process here called

“incorporation” must not be confused with “introjection,” a term rarely used by Jung.)

Is not the extravert also altered by his experiences? Do they not leave any impression, any enduring effect upon him? Undoubtedly they do but, as we have seen, the point is that the extravert is largely unconscious, or only rarely conscious of the subjective impression, the inner alteration in himself. It is his nature to evade it, just as it is the introvert's nature to evade personal contact with unincorporated people. Make no mistake, extraverts resist the influx of subjective impressions no less vigorously than introverts resist direct contact with the external world. Unconsciously extraverts resist having their lives altered, permeated, transformed by impressions of experience, no less than introverts resist influences which would coerce them to conform with external circumstance.

For extraversion and introversion have negative as well as positive aspects. The positive value in extraversion is the accomplishment of rapport, the positive value of introversion is the accomplishment of incorporation. But in order to perform rapport it is necessary to exclude the inner realization of experience, just as in order to perform incorporation it is necessary to exclude rapport. Since the processes are mutually counteractive, people who are continuously exercising rapport rarely realize their inner impressions and do not become skilled in incorporation; people who are continuously performing incorporation, only at intervals realize their relation to the external world and do not become skilled in rapport.

The negative side of introversion is apparent to everyone because the introvert usually shows his resistance to personal contact with strange people. But his positive

accomplishment of incorporating experience into the very marrow of his mind is not apparent. On the other hand, the extravert's positive accomplishment of rapport is evident to all, while his negative side, his shallowness which results from evading the inner realization of experience, is not always apparent. Hence the common undervaluation of introversion and my need to emphasize its value here.

We must realize clearly that the extravert is no less definitely alienated from the context of subjective reality than the introvert is alienated from the outside world. The extravert loses his realization of the inner component of experience, which is the reality of himself as a conscious being, no less completely than the introvert, absorbed in his inner life, loses his direct relation to external things. For the performance of rapport dissipates the extravert's inner realization of experience no less surely than the practice of incorporation concentrates the introvert's attention within his subjective domain, with a consequent loss of realization of his relation to the external world. For this reason the extravert flees from himself in a performance which we might call "discorporation," just as the introvert flees from contact with others as if he had put up a wall of "non-rapport."

In the intellectual field the introvert's accomplishment gives him the ability to develop original ideas with great precision. For he holds a single line of thought long in mind, exploring all its possibilities, meditating on all its relations, developing it with that intense singleness of purpose which is characteristic of his psychic constitution.

In whatever field he uses his mind the introvert is continuously gathering to himself impressions which may be of anything, objective or subjective, impressions which he

ruminate on and gradually works up into laws for the future. The introvert's impressions are few in number, his mind being highly selective, but each affects him deeply because he meditates upon it, contemplates it from all sides, stares into its face as it were, until he actually makes it a part of him, as a man makes his food a part of him by digesting and assimilating it. There is perhaps some analogy between incorporation and the process of anabolism, between rapport and that of catabolism. William Blake called introverts the "devouring," extraverts the "prolific" type.

Obviously extraverts are subjects, but their psychological energy moves from the subject toward the object; its movement is centrifugal. Obviously too, introverts live in the objective world but their psychological energy moves in the opposite direction, from the object toward the subject. They are therefore centripetal. The movements form a circuit; indeed both are essential to complete adaptation on the psychological level.

The finest description I have ever read of the introvert's own impression of the process which I call incorporation was written by the philosopher George Santayana, doubtless from the fullness of his own experience. Because George Santayana is a philosopher, one of the greatest of our day, we may assume that he describes the intellectual experience of incorporation, but incorporation may be non-intellectual as well. In his remarkable novel "The Last Puritan," he defines this process which all my labored efforts hardly adumbrate.* In describing his introvert hero Oliver, Mr. Santayana writes:

* I am grateful to Charles Scribner's Sons for their permission to quote this passage from "The Last Puritan."

"Oliver's mind was less perceptive than digestive: contact was nothing to it, incorporation was everything. Anything merely seen or heard remained a picture or a story: that external force, that foreign rhythm, must first pass into him, become a part of his rhythm and of his bent, if ever he was to conceive it clearly or think it important. Once incorporated, once digested, once moralized, the orange was squeezed: its virtue had gone out of it and passed into him: and what the rejected rind or deflated pulp might do or become in that rubbish heap of non-moral abstractions which seems to surround us, left him quite cold. Everything was really only what it was to him and in him; what it was when digested."

The full meaning of this remarkable statement is hardly to be grasped at the first or second reading: I read it perhaps a dozen times before I was able to appreciate its force. It is as if, for an extravert, there were all sorts and all degrees of experience; while for an introvert there were only experience and non-experience, that is, experience which he accepts as his own and that which he rejects as alien. For example, either he rejects all impressions except the most superficial which come to him from people, as if he interposed a wall between them and himself, or, once having lowered the drawbridge and lifted the portcullis of his soul, he is open to complete invasion by those people.

It is interesting to observe the transformation of a typical introvert which comes about as the result of this opening of the portals of the self. Let us watch Mr. Inn standing with a group of people none of whom holds any particular interest for him. He is agreeable but has little to say, remaining politely detached. He is not unfriendly but he does not put himself into the situation: it is as if

his body were present but his mind were elsewhere. He stands there like a deserted house with the blinds drawn, when suddenly an old friend of whom he is very fond appears and the two wander away together. The introvert is transformed. Up go the blinds, on go the lights; the house is now bright with life. Before the arrival of his friend the introvert seemed out of touch, out of contact with the outside world. That was because the people around him were outside the enclave of his subjective life. But because his friend, having been incorporated, has become part of the introvert's inner life, he meets no resistance because he presents no challenge as unincorporated people do. On the contrary, his presence invites the introvert to throw open the portals of his inner life that his friend may enter and be made welcome.

It is difficult for extraverts to understand the selective power of the introvert's attention. Either he is detached, abstracted from what is going on outside, as if he were merely witnessing a play or some other event in which he may be interested but with which he had no personal connection, or else he gives himself completely to the experience as Mr. Inn gave himself to his conversation with his friend. The introvert may be one of a group of acquaintances, yet be apparently as oblivious of any personal relation with them as if they did not exist, as indeed they seem not to exist for him. Not that he would be unable to remember the episode; it is simply that by retreating behind his wall, the introvert has prevented the episode from leaving its mark upon his inner life. He remembers all that happened; it was perfectly real to him, only he personally was not a part of it.

No extravert could ever be so detached, so oblivious of

any group of people with whom he was acquainted. The extravert may dislike people heartily; he may defy, despise, or fight with them. But he cannot ignore them; he cannot be detached from or indifferent to them. And only with the greatest effort can he even pretend indifference, although he does so at times in order to create an effect. Whoever and whatever they may be, people, all people, have the power to stimulate the extravert to some sort of personal response. To the extravert, people in his immediate vicinity have a claim on him, a claim to some overt response (although for practical reasons he may find it expedient to deny that claim). Perhaps this explains why the extravert wife was moved to discuss short-wave radio with the acquaintance on the train, despite her lack of personal interest either in the topic or the man.

Unless people have some subjective claim on the introvert they have little or no power to stimulate him to a personal response because they are simply outside the orbit of his concern. Furthermore their very presence seems to constitute a threat, a challenge to the security of his inner life. For this reason an introvert can sit mum, making no effort to promote conversation in many situations which would stimulate any extravert to considerable conversational effort.

"Why should I make an effort to talk to people I don't know?" asks the introvert.

"Why?" retorts the extravert, "because it is awkward to sit staring at people without saying anything. You have to say something to keep things going smoothly and make everybody feel at ease."

"But unless people mean something to me I have nothing to say to them. They are not interested in me nor am I

interested in them, so why should we put on a show for each other?"

The introvert may not feel awkward sitting with people and saying nothing. He wants to talk only to people who have a place within the frame of his personal reference, and this frame is necessarily limited. Of course he would respond to an appeal for help, to a simple request, a warning or a bit of practical advice from anyone known or unknown, just as an extravert would. But there would be no personal response; it would be a formal, impersonal exchange of words.

In the psychology of the extravert there is, insofar as he is aware, only one world, one domain, and he is in it continuously. For an introvert there are two domains, his own subjective or domestic domain and the foreign, objective domain. Now the people and things in the foreign realm are not necessarily unknown, indeed the introvert may know a great deal about them. But to him they are inert, psychologically indigestible; they do not nourish his mind or stimulate his emotion.

On the other hand, all those things and people directly connected with what he has incorporated into his subjective realm are intensely vital, rich. They nourish him and sustain him, providing in concentrated form the nutriment which the extravert must range the world to find. Although these incorporated people (and things) are actually in the outside objective world, yet the introvert has made them his own by setting them apart, by transporting them from the foreign domain to the domestic (subjective) domain. The impressions of these people live in the introvert, for he has made them part of himself. The introvert accomplishment is a process of ordering experience accord-

ing to an inner principle, of assimilating it to an inner syntax.

The extravert is forced to order experience according to extrinsic principles, often the opinions and ideas of others which to him are objective. Hence the extravert's love of formulas: he is always looking for formulas, always seeking the right word, the right gesture. For, lacking the means of dealing with experience independently, he is forced to rely on principles derived from the objective world: this is his domain and he knows no other.

Perhaps the introvert's ability to distinguish two domains of experience is the basis of an introvert peculiarity, a characteristic relation to the inner life which is difficult for extraverts to understand. This is the introvert phenomenon which I call duplex consciousness. One young introvert of my acquaintance was so conscious of this dual aspect of his life that he felt as if he should keep two diaries instead of one because his experiences in the inner realm seemed definitely detached from his experiences in the outer world. The introvert is forced, at times, to lead a psychologically dual life because the inner life is not able to express itself in the outer world.

I do not pretend to be able to describe this phenomenon of introverted consciousness because, as an extravert, I am consciously identical with the objective aspect of experience and relatively unaware of my inner being. I can do no more than point to the existence of this doubling of consciousness which many introverts take for granted, assuming that everyone has it.

They tell me that they experience it most definitely at times when they are forced to adapt to circumstances in which they feel somewhat inadequate, when they are ill

at ease and therefore not "at one" with themselves. It seems that when he is completely at ease, that is when the outer and inner life are so harmonious as to flow along together, the introvert is not aware of this duality within himself. But particularly when he finds himself in a situation where he must make difficult or distasteful concessions to the outside world, he feels as if one part of himself were playing a role in life's drama while another part looked on from the wings, as if one part were coping with the external world while the other lived its private life undisturbed.

Introvert readers will doubtless understand what I am trying to describe, just as they will discern my lack of ability to describe it. Although such a concept seems decidedly strange to extraverts—at least it seems so to me because it is foreign to my experience—this sense of an inner and outer life must not be confused with abnormality. In the first place the extravert is not originally more united within himself than the introvert who recognizes his duality: indeed the extravert may reveal several "selves" in different situations as his friends may have noticed, although he is unaware of the multiplicity in himself.

Although an exaggerated feeling of duality appears in the form of insanity called schizophrenia, a moderate degree seems to be normal to the introvert mind. Perhaps this is because if you are aware of inner life at all, you cannot fail to realize that, at times, it is quite different from the life which you must lead in the objective world.

It is as if the two accomplishments had to do with the development of the two "sides" of the self. Rapport is the accomplishment of the person whose psychological

"outside" is developed, incorporation that of the person whose "inside" is developed. The extravert side is one's locus of interaction with the external world. As the outside of the self it is truly the personality, if we use personality to designate the social aspect of the self. His personality or outside is the extravert's "good" side, his "right" side.

But there is another side of the self, even the extravert's, an "inside." The introvert or "inside" is one's locus of interaction with the universal subject, with the whole psycho-physiological system or context which is the matrix of human nature. The introvert's "inside" is a side which only his intimates are likely to discover, because it can be glimpsed only when the introvert chooses to hold a mirror up to it. We might think of it as a sort of "private personality." This "inside" of the self is the introvert's "good" side, his "right" side, his real self.

Another figure which helps to express the relation between the two processes is to call extraversion and introversion "dimensions" of the self. If we think of each of them as a plane surface having length and width but not thickness, we may conceive of extraversion as lying in the horizontal plane and having breadth, and introversion as standing in the vertical and having depth. Thus the introverted personality seems deep but rather narrow and restricted. Each type has extensity within his own two dimensions but is lacking in the third dimension, for extraversion may be said to comprise only two "dimensions" of the self, as does introversion. While the concept of "dimension" serves a certain purpose, as we shall see later on, the figure of the two "sides" of the self is perhaps more appropriate.

It is impossible to say why the development of the two

sides of the self should not be simultaneous; we know only that one develops more rapidly than the other, giving rise to the contrasting types. Yet, as we shall see the other, the neglected side is capable of development too.

Although the self, or mind-ego is a process and therefore could not have sides or dimensions, these figures of speech help to explain the observed differences between extraverts and introverts. I ask the reader's indulgence for my use of the expressions because despite their obvious artificiality, they are serviceable in making clear the relations of the extravert and introvert processes to the total psychology of the individual.

In our discussions of the deeper psychological processes we are forced to resort to analogies and figures of speech, just as in advanced physics men are forced to resort to figures of speech. For it is only the simpler processes of nature which can be understood more directly. As we advance farther into the study of the principles which underlie those processes, we find ourselves less and less able to comprehend those principles in the abstract and more and more dependent on figures of speech, which support the mind in its struggle to hold observed facts up to the light of understanding.

This insight into the "accomplishments" of the two types affords the basis for a genuine understanding of their different traits. From this foundation, we may turn now to practical applications of the principles, applications which will prove useful in our daily contacts, helpful in that greatest job of all, getting along with our neighbors.

CHAPTER 7

SELF-EXPRESSION AND THE SPOKEN WORD

We know that of all the traits which distinguish extraverts from introverts, that of freedom in contrast with reserve in self-expression is the most striking. "Self-expression" has a variety of meanings and in order to avoid confusion, let me specify that by self-expression I mean the use of the spoken word, and to a lesser extent the written word, in direct disclosure of one's feelings, emotional states and personal opinions.

It is a mistake to consider the difference between the types in self-expression as merely quantitative, that is as a simple difference between loquacity and laconicalness or taciturnity. Not only is the contrast more fundamental than this; its nature is essentially different. That the real difference lies in a contrast in the basic attitude toward self-expression is evidenced by the fact that the introvert is most frugal in self-expression under the same circumstances in which the extravert is most extravagant. It is this contrast which proves that extraverts and introverts regard self-expression from different standpoints and use it for different purposes.

We must make a further distinction between simple loquacity as a relish for speaking at any time to anybody, and articulateness, the ability to express oneself clearly and effectively on a particular topic. Articulateness has to do with intelligence, learning and sophistication. A

person who is not temperamentally talkative may be articulate on those subjects which he undertakes to discuss. On the other hand, a person who talks a great deal may not express himself well or have anything of importance to communicate; he may be merely garrulous. Obviously many factors entirely unrelated to extraversion or introversion influence articulateness.

There is no reason to suppose that in the use of language, spoken or written, either as the means of communication or as the instrument of abstraction and the higher intellectual processes, there is any difference between the types. Nevertheless there is a distinct difference in their use of language as a means of establishing rapport, and as a medium of self-expression in the relief of mental and emotional tension.

Indeed, in order to understand the strangely contrasting attitudes of the two types toward self-expression, we must realize clearly the importance of the spoken word first, as the prime medium of rapport between man and man, and secondly, as the most differentiated means of relieving mental and emotional pressure. Because the introvert only rarely performs either of these psychological acts he is not so dependent on self-expression as the extravert is; he uses words chiefly to put his thoughts into a form in which they take on precision and clearness, or to communicate those things which he chooses to communicate. He talks less freely about personal things than extraverts do, partly because he uses talk less freely as an escape valve for his feelings and emotions.

The two situations in which introverts are most chary of self-expression and extraverts most reckless have nothing whatever in common. One is the familiar casual

contacts with strangers but the other lies in a totally different domain. For the introvert is silent not only when he is simply not moved to speak to the people around him, but also when he is most profoundly moved by joy, sorrow, or anxiety. (Rage and fear are excepted. Sudden rage and fear are primitive reactions not, strictly speaking, psychological: they are rather instinctive reactions common to all men and higher animals. The sudden terror aroused by fire or flood, or the sudden rage resulting from the attack of an assassin or a wild beast obliterate type distinctions; for in their instinctive reactions introverts are indistinguishable from extraverts.) By emotion is meant rather such psychological states as result from bereavement, the failure of cherished plans, the fear of a lingering death, etc. Under joy would be included falling in love or realizing a cherished hope.

About important feeling states the introvert is silent at the time when he is most greatly moved. On the contrary, it is precisely at times when he is most greatly moved that the extravert expresses himself most freely. The rule is that extraverts naturally express themselves about their personal responses, their emotions, their feelings, in proportion to the strength and importance of those responses; introverts in inverse proportion.

Here is the crucial difference between extraverts and introverts, the one which may be considered almost an infallible index of psychological type. (See page 40.) Many introverts are at times so friendly and so talkative that it is easy to mistake them for extraverts; many extraverts are at times so quiet and so cool that it is easy to mistake them for introverts. But severe emotional stress is the solution which develops the latent type picture to un-

mistakable clearness. Great emotional stress reveals basic extraversion or introversion as the developing solution reveals the image on a photographic plate.

In those crises when the mind is wrung by sorrow or exalted by joy, extraverts and introverts revert spontaneously to the habit most characteristic of type as if springs which usually held them in a middle position had suddenly snapped, releasing the introvert to complete pre-occupation with his own thoughts, the extravert to free communication and enhanced rapport with others. During these periods even an unusually talkative introvert falls taciturn; even an unusually silent extravert boils into speech. In the stress of great emotion extraverts become more than usually dependent upon their relation to others, while introverts are unable to maintain their habitual communication even with beloved intimates to whom they are ordinarily talkative. It is this fact which demonstrates most clearly, even more clearly than his notorious reserve with strangers, that the introvert's attitude toward the form of self-expression which we are discussing here is essentially different from that of the extravert.

Those people in deep sorrow who give little or no overt expression to their grief are introverts. To the extravert this may appear cold, unnatural, almost inhuman, as if the introvert were insensitive to sorrow, as if he were incapable of realizing deep emotion. I know of a mother who lost an only child, a daughter to whom she was passionately devoted. At the funeral she sat dry-eyed and taut-lipped. For a period of many months after her child's death she remained in a state of listless apathy, apparently indifferent to her surroundings, performing necessary household tasks like an automaton, neither welcoming the

sympathy of relatives nor referring to her own state of mind.

This woman did not weep in the presence of friends, did not speak of her child, did not bemoan her loss. Indeed she did not behave as a woman in sorrow; she behaved as a woman who had lost her relish for life. For the temperamental scale of introverts extends from zeal to apathy, at least from the observer's point of view. This response is in decided contrast with that of the extravert in deep sorrow. An extravert mother so bereaved not only expresses the anguish of her heart, but looks to her friends and family for consolation and seems to find some degree of relief in free communion with them. The extravert's temperamental scale extends from joy to sorrow.

The extravert in deep distress weeps, cries out his grief. To introverts this may appear either as lack of emotional control or a mere show of emotion. But the extravert is not necessarily lacking in emotional control nor is he pretending; he simply expresses that which he feels, and the more deeply he is moved the greater is his need to express himself. Extraverts who lack emotional balance may become ill or hysterical but invariably, like their more normal brothers, they maintain rapport with those around them. Not only do they maintain it, they reinforce it, for the extravert invariably draws nearer to other people as if to borrow strength from sympathy, as if to seek their aid in bearing his burden of grief.

Another instance of an introvert's response to the death of a beloved child was that of a farmer²⁸ who lost an only son aged twenty-five. When, after a long vigil the doctor pronounced the young man dead, this father rose from his chair by the bedside, seized a clock and flung it

out of the window with the announcement, "Time has stopped." He gave no other expression to his emotion but remained seated in a particular chair in his home, silent, unresponsive and apparently indifferent to everything but pressing business affairs. To these he sometimes attended, then resumed his silent brooding, ignoring everything about him. This condition lasted for several months, then rather suddenly the man resumed his customary occupations and his normal relations with members of his family.

Not all introverts are outwardly petrified by grief; most of them are able to keep open the channels of communion with their intimates. But even from them the introvert hides his deepest feelings. When he talks, it is of somewhat impersonal things, not of his own thoughts and emotions. Invariably there is constraint, a guarding of the wound which the introvert indicates by his disinclination to speak of those things which are most important to him. For the introvert seems to find pain rather than solace in communication. To him consolation must come from within, from his silent meditation, for none can reach him from without. Indeed words of sympathy seem to fall as lashes on his wounds. For that reason he hides those wounds, guarding them as best he can from every contact.

The extravert finds great relief in telling his troubles, even his deepest sorrows, to a sympathetic listener. He is able to discuss his troubles with anyone, even a stranger who shows kindly interest. The more distraught the extravert, the more dependent he is upon communication. This is not only because he finds solace in rapport; it is partly his native fear of confronting his own subjective state which drives the extravert to reinforce his bond with the outside world. In emotional stress the extravert suffers from

an internal pressure which can be reduced only by self-expression.

"A man were better relate himself to a statue or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother," said Sir Francis Bacon in his essay "Of Friendship." No clearer statement of the extravert point of view was ever framed. That feeling of suffocation which can be relieved only by the airing of one's thoughts and emotions is a phenomenon of extraversion. For only the extravert lacks ability to deal with experience on the subjective plane; only he wants the inner principle by which to order the events of his life. Hence he is forced to adapt to his experience by "relating himself" as Bacon said, to the outside world.

Even to lesser experiences the same rule applies. An introvert relative of mine is always unusually taciturn after hearing fine music. A great music lover, during and after a concert he is distinctly disinclined to talk. Extravert-like, I formerly imagined that he was displeased with me or with other companions; at other times I suspected him of being in a bad mood. Always I found his attitude queer. Now I realize that it is only because his enjoyment of the music is so keen that, for a time, he is unable to speak of it or to maintain his customary contact with associates.

For the introvert carries joy like a cup brimfull within himself and must tread softly so as not to spill a drop: the precious liquid must have time to soak into his mind, to permeate it and become incorporated into it before he may safely speak of it. To express joy before he has incorporated it would be like juggling the cup; it would spill some. The conversation of two women at the theater illustrates the point. The play was particularly good and

during an intermission one woman, undoubtedly an extravert, descanted on her enjoyment.

"Isn't it fine?" she exclaimed enthusiastically. "It is by far the best play I've seen this season. And I like Miss Bee (the star) better in this role than any of her others. I don't know when I've enjoyed anything so much."

Her companion who seemed decidedly introverted, agreed, adding a comment on another member of the cast.

"But you don't seem particularly enthusiastic; you haven't much to say," persisted the extravert in a tone of disappointment.

"Do I have to say so much?" retorted the introvert somewhat testily, as if this were not her friend's first criticism. "People who keep harping on how much they enjoy things make me think their enjoyment doesn't go very deep. I am really enjoying the play so why should I keep on saying so over and over?"

In great joy and enthusiasm no less than in great sorrow and anxiety, the extravert must speak his delight. The extravert lover praises his lady's charms, recites his own devotion not only to the lady herself but to all who will lend a sympathetic ear. He not only wants his friends to know her, he wants them to appreciate her loveliness and to admire her charm as he does. He is so full of his love that he wants to shout it from the house tops; he wants to tell the whole world.

But the introvert lover cherishes his passion in his secret heart, guarding it from all but a few chosen intimates to whom he reveals the bare facts with little or no display of feeling, much as if he were giving a weather report. His love and joy hold the introvert fast to his inner vision, cutting him off from the outside world which cannot

know or share his inner experience. To the introvert great joy, like great pain, is incommunicable.

Yet the lover whose heart is too full for utterance, the bereaved parent whose grief is too deep for tears, the hurt or anxious child who finds no words to speak his pain, surely experience their emotion as completely as people who express themselves freely. None but the most naive could mistake the inarticulate lover or the stricken parent for dull clods, lacking in the capacity for genuine feeling. Although this aspect of the problem must be reserved until later, it is unnecessary to point out that experience can be realized completely within the lonely confines of the individual mind without ever being translated into speech.

Indeed there are the two ways by which human beings adapt to experience, the two means by which we grasp the events of our lives to affix them firmly in consciousness. We know that the extravert takes the means of self-expression and enhanced rapport as his way of adapting, that the introvert takes the other way, that he adapts to his experience by incorporating it. For this reason, in deeply moving experience, the extravert's stream of communication with the outside world is made to flow more abundantly as if swollen by spring freshets, while the introvert's, ordinarily but meager, is now frozen stark.

But we must remember that the extravert's ready self-expression indicates no conscious desire to share experience with others, nor the introvert's silence any stubborn unwillingness to do so, for no conscious option is involved. The stricken soul simply clings all the more tenaciously to that context of experience which is more familiar, and this frantic clinging causes him to lose his slender hold on the opposite context.

Not only in deep distress or great joy, but at other times when he has merely some decision to make, some problem to solve, the extravert's urge to unburden his mind is often so great that he is driven to confide in strangers who could have only the most casual, and no genuinely personal interest in his communication.

I once overheard an account of this habit by a saleswoman in a New York store. To a fellow employee she commented on the fact that in making a sale she so often found it necessary to waste time listening to the customer's prolonged recital of personal affairs.

"And the things they talk about; how queer their relatives are and all about their neighbors. You wouldn't believe the things they tell me. Why just this morning a woman talked nearly half an hour about how her husband acts when he's drinking. I wouldn't tell my best friend some of the things customers tell me, and they never laid eyes on me before."

Perhaps the saleswoman did not realize that her customers told her some things they hardly would have dared tell even their best friends. Yet for one reason or another the urge to express themselves, to "get it off the chest" was so strong that these extravert women were driven to regale strangers with details of their intimate affairs. Hairdressers and dressmakers are even more likely to be drafted as confidants. A dressmaker told me that during the course of having two gowns made, a middle-aged customer recounted her life history with details of her first husband's infidelity, her divorce, second romance, remarriage, and an account of the new home situation. The dressmaker added that being a patient listener is a requisite for success in her business.

Few extraverts are particular to whom they unburden their minds. Their compelling urge to impart, to "relate themselves," is satisfied as well and much more safely by confiding in people remote from their own social circle. For that reason saleswomen, dressmakers, and hairdressers, as well as lawyers, doctors and clergymen, live under the weight of many confidences. It is unnecessary to add that only extraverts make a habit of spreading their affairs abroad. Although introverts doubtless feel a need at times to talk things over with some particular person, only extraverts suffer from such high pressure of self-expression that they are forced to seek relief by making intimate disclosures to strangers. Often extraverts regret having talked so freely and in time some of us learn to restrain the impulse.

For all extraverts are not so indiscreet as to yield to this urge. Indeed many intelligent extraverts are as circumspect in speech as in action, but the point is that only extraverts feel the impulse to reveal themselves to anyone and everyone, hence only extraverts find it necessary to leash the impulse. No introvert has to bridle his tongue before strangers. Although he might rarely feel a surge of desire to talk about personal affairs, the presence of unincorporated people acts as sufficient check.

Some introverts have explained their lack of freedom in communication by the remark that, although they might like to talk about personal affairs, they feel that people would not understand. The introvert is skeptical of the possibility of genuine understanding among human beings, while the extravert simply speaks without a thought of whether others really understand or not. Indeed the very word "understanding" used in connection with personal

affairs has a different inflection of meaning to the two types, as we shall see in connection with relationships.

A friend once defined an introvert as "a man who has learned to keep his mouth shut." But my friend was wrong. Only extraverts need to learn to keep their mouths shut. Introverts are born with their mouths shut, and if they sometimes feel an urge to open them they rarely yield to it without taking thought beforehand.

When an introvert speaks to strangers, that is to unincorporated people, on any but impersonal topics it is because he has succeeded in overcoming his natural reserve; when an extravert, who has anything on his mind, is silent it is because he has succeeded in restraining his habit of self-expression. Nevertheless about impersonal things, even about the impersonal aspects of his own affairs, about his business, his sports, politics, or other interests an introvert often speaks as freely as an extravert. He will tell you many facts about his work, his hobbies, things which might be described as personal. The point is that he does not reveal his thoughts and feelings about these things, nor does he discuss casually the people or experiences which mean most to him.

Doubtless there are introverts who speak more words per day than many extraverts; but the former speak of impersonal "safe" things, while the latter speak freely about everything. Introverts enjoy conversation, gossip, exchange of information, discussions of affairs, perhaps as much as extraverts do. It is chiefly about his own thoughts and feelings, his important experiences, particularly those experiences which touch deep emotional roots, that he is as silent as stone. From revealing his inner life the introvert shrinks as from a blow.

On the contrary, extraverts lard discussions even of abstract problems with frequent reference to their own feelings and personal responses. It is because extraverts put themselves into everything they say that some of them seem so warm and human: it is because introverts take themselves out of everything they say that many of them seem so cold and stolid. Yet it must not be supposed that introverts achieve a greater degree of detachment from an egocentric viewpoint than extraverts do. The point is only that however trivial, vapid and self-centered the introvert's discourse may be, as for instance when he is discussing woodcarving or stamp collecting in which no one present but himself is interested, he makes little or no direct reference to his mental or emotional states. On the other hand, however impersonal and abstract the subject of an extravert's discourse may be he rarely refrains from putting a little of himself, some reference to his thoughts and feelings, his personal approach to the problem into his discussion.

Let us eavesdrop on two savants who are discussing a scientific hypothesis with a group of colleagues. Both are speaking presumably from what is generally called the objective or "altertensive" point of view. Yet their presentation of their views shows this difference: the introvert offers his with a minimum of explanation as to how he came by them and few details of his work or his perplexities. He simply presents his ideas and opinions stripped bare of personal connections, as if he were offering the work of someone else. But his extravert colleague, no less "altertensive," expands his remarks with allusions to his methods of work and other personal details. Thus without detracting in any way from the so-called objec-

tivity of his presentation, that is, without injecting personal bias of any sort, the extravert discloses his personal relation to his work, a disclosure which the introvert has no inclination to make.

This book is in every way an example of the extravert point of view. An introvert would have put far less of himself into it than I have. Perhaps many extraverts, too, would have made fewer personal references out of respect for the conventions. However, I have permitted my natural self-expression rather a free rein so that the book itself might stand as an illustration of the extravert's personal relation to his work. Another typical extravert characteristic lies in the fact that this work is based not on original ideas but on those of another, on ideas which are to me objective. Many extravert writers are good arrangers and interpreters, but generally their work is based on that of introvert thinkers who develop the ideas subjectively, hence are better able to make original theoretical contributions. Obviously this does not refer to writers of fiction, poetry, and so forth.

Like every other trait based on psychological type, the habit of self-expression discloses the extravert's allegiance to the objective context, the introvert's to the subjective context. That is because, as we know, expressing one's personal responses freely accomplishes two purposes: it promotes rapport and it serves to transpose the subjective effect of experience into the objective context. The spoken word is the medium of rapport and an equally effective instrument for putting experience into the external context, thus ridding the subject of its weight. Indeed the extravert uses the spoken word to some extent, at least, as a way out of what seems to him the murky depths of

the subjective region into the security of his relation to the external world. Thus self-expression serves the extravert in his positive relation to the objective world, but it also serves the negative purpose of evading subjective experience.

It is difficult for extraverts to understand the introvert attitude and many an extravert wife who is deeply moved by joy questions her husband as to how he feels, urges him to express himself, indeed attempts to force him to do so in the belief that he will gain the fullness of realization through rapport, as she herself does. This must be extremely trying for an introvert, however lovingly he may strive to conform to the demands made upon him, because to be forced to express himself at the time that he should be engaged in incorporating his experience robs him of the essence of that enjoyment. The extravert must learn that the introvert who is deeply moved is so engrossed in the task of incorporation that, for the time being, he is bereft of speech and incapable of maintaining even his customary indirect relation to the outside world. That is why the introvert can express himself about minor experiences but must keep silent about great ones.

The extravert expresses himself about minor matters too, but he expresses himself much more freely and fully about great ones. It may seem paradoxical that the extravert's habit of telling his troubles is a sovereign anodyne while telling his joys enhances them. Bacon must have been struck by the paradox to write:

"This communicating of a man's self to his friends works two contrary effects, for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves; for there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man

that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less."

This is a paradox only if we view communicating one's sorrows as a means of escaping from them, and communicating one's joys as a means of drawing closer to them. Apparently this interpretation is wrong. We must view the extravert's communication of his experiences as a way of dealing with them, of realizing them, hence a means of adaptation at the psychological level. The extravert adapts to all experience, to joy as well as sorrow, by relating the experience to the context of external relations, for he becomes conscious of the inner effect by transposing it to the outer context.

As a rule, in circumstances which offer every opportunity for talk, the extravert remains silent only when he has in mind something which he deems it wise to conceal or when he is displeased with his associates and wishes to break off relations with them. Because the extravert considers talk the medium of rapport, he demonstrates his good feeling toward people by talking to them whenever possible. Therefore to demonstrate displeasure a self-controlled extravert sometimes breaks off communication: he uses a break in rapport as a means of discipline. That is why he is so hurt by the introvert's failure to talk at times when the latter is engrossed in incorporation.

An interesting point in connection with the extravert's tendency to use talk as a means of establishing and maintaining rapport, is the fact that extraverts with inferiority feelings often address a ceaseless stream of talk to people on whom they wish to make an unusually favorable impression.

We know that the extravert seeks to overcome his

inferiority and to establish self-confidence through his personal relation to and effect on others. I once knew a young girl, an extravert, who suffered from a feeling of inferiority. So eager was she to establish self-confidence through her ability to attract men friends that she set out to make herself as charming as possible. She was pretty and winsome and did attract numerous beaux. But in her effort to maintain rapport she talked incessantly, and after seeing her a few times her admirers deserted her for less charming but doubtless more restful girls.

Perhaps an introvert would have attributed this girl's constant chatter to a frivolous nature or lack of intelligence. But our understanding of the extravert's psychology enables us to see that the girl used talk, as every extravert uses it, as a means of establishing personal bonds. But because of her need to compensate for a feeling of inferiority, she exaggerated the ordinary extravert tendency to a point at which it became a caricature of normal extraversion and a source of annoyance to the very people whom she was most eager to please.

The adage "speech is silver, silence golden" represents the introvert standpoint. To extraverts speech is "golden," that is indispensable, and silence merely the absence of speech. But the introvert regards silence as indispensable; for him its eloquence may excel that of the most eloquent words. The introvert remains silent not only when he has something to conceal or nothing in particular in mind, but when he has too much in mind, when his mind is surcharged with thought and feeling. The extravert crowns his most moving experiences with fervent expressions of his thoughts and feelings; the introvert crowns his with silence no less fervent. Only in that pregnant silence can

he plumb the depths of experience, for words would touch only the surface.

From this we might conclude that all successful public speakers and actors are extraverts. This might make an interesting study but it is not necessarily the case. For we have seen that extraverts are not more capable speakers, that they are not necessarily more articulate than introverts. Given a subject in which he is well versed, an introvert may be a superb speaker. Whatever his excellence as an orator, the introvert's public speaking will differ from that of an equally gifted extravert according to principles with which the reader is familiar.

In the first place we know that the introvert will speak more impersonally, that he will confine his remarks to the "safe" impersonal aspect of the topic which he discusses, omitting direct reference to his own impressions. For example, on the subject of poetry an introvert speaker may be positively eloquent, revealing by his zeal and intensity the depth of his interest. Yet he will not express that interest directly, will not say in so many words how vital is his love for poetry, how he thrills at reading favorite passages as an extravert might. For we know that the extravert is as prone to put himself into his public discourse as into his private conversation. Furthermore, the extravert not only displays the finished product of his thought, his well-polished ideas and carefully drawn conclusions; he invites you into his workroom to watch him at his work. The introvert, on the contrary, keeps his workroom shut and presents you with nothing but his finished product carefully arranged for display.

Perhaps even a greater difference between introvert and extravert orators lies in their relation to the audience. The

extravert seems to seek to relate himself directly to his listeners, to establish with them direct rapport either emotional or intellectual, depending on his cast of mind. He addresses them directly as man to man, he speaks to them in a familiar, personal vein. The introvert, on the contrary, often seems to be immersed in his thoughts rather than in his audience. He does not seek personal rapport with his listeners but carries on his work of speaking or acting in an impersonal way.

In my opinion, some excellent actors and public speakers are introverts. But their eloquence seems to be complete within its own system, born of their own ideas which move of themselves without external stimulation; whereas the extravert's eloquence seems to be inspired by his personal relation to his audience. The introvert lecturer seems to talk *for* his hearers, while the extravert talks directly *to* them. Both speakers seek to arouse in their listeners certain emotions and to establish certain convictions. But whereas the introvert seeks to make the audience understand and appreciate all that he says, the extravert seeks to make them understand and appreciate his relation to them besides. For the extravert values his personal rapport with his audience, whereas the introvert can be more eloquent the more he feels removed from the personal spell of his hearers.

For this reason some introverts speak more freely before a large audience than to a small group of strangers. From the larger audience the introvert is able definitely to detach himself because it must perforce keep its distance. But his proximity to a small group of people seems to threaten him with a more personal relation, hence he may feel obliged to resist them more actively.

Perhaps for a similar reason, introvert actors may portray feeling more freely on the stage than in real life. There, they are isolated from any real contact with people, hence their dramatized emotion is "safe": it does not threaten to disrupt their subjective life as real emotional display would do.

CHAPTER 8

SELF-EXPRESSION. THE QUICK AND THE DELIBERATE TYPES

Although an introvert is reserved and laconic under the same emotional stress which stimulates extraverts to the freest self-expression, introverts do not remain silent forever about their most important feelings, their deepest personal experiences. Although they almost never speak of these experiences to strangers, rarely even to intimates, there may come a time when even an introvert finds it possible to make known, especially to those people for whom he cares deeply, something of what he has experienced. We know that he is quite unable to do this during or immediately following the important experience but must wait until afterward, sometimes a very long time afterward. Whatever is of personal significance to an introvert has to be incorporated before he can speak of it. For this reason the introvert is more or less deliberate in self-expression, especially that which relates to important experiences. Deliberation therefore, may be called an introvert trait.

However, we cannot say that the introvert is deliberate in every way, but must qualify the statement by adding that his deliberation is psychological and that it is especially noticeable in self-expression as here defined. Some introverts are deliberate in speaking on any subject to strangers or to people whom they dislike or distrust. But

all introverts are deliberate in speaking to anyone, even to an intimate, about their more important thoughts, feelings and emotions.

Let me repeat that the deliberation which is an introvert trait has nothing to do with either alertness or quickness of mind or body. When I describe introverts as deliberate, extraverts as precipitate, I do not mean that introverts are sluggish mentally or physically. Deliberation and precipitancy as introvert and extravert traits apply principally to self-expression.

Some introverts, by no means all, are very deliberate about expressing themselves on almost any subject to strangers, at least to some strangers, although they may be more quick of speech with intimates. Some years ago I met a bus driver who must have been an introvert of purest type.

This young man, in his early twenties I should judge, drove the motor bus which climbed the old steep and narrow road, since replaced by a modern highway, to the Mt. Wilson Observatory in California. As we stopped at the approach to the rugged mountain roadway, I asked the driver whether any vehicles would be allowed to proceed down the mountain while we climbed up. I spoke distinctly and was sure that he heard me, yet he made not the slightest sign and, without a word, mounted to the driver's seat and started the bus on its way. The ascent required half an hour or more and by the time we reached the top I had forgotten my question, having observed that during our climb we passed no cars headed downward. However, as I alighted from the bus, the driver stepped up to me and replied to my question.

Undoubtedly this man was able to respond more

promptly to questions asked by friends or relatives but the sudden query of a strange woman, perhaps at a time when his mind was occupied with some problem of its own, made it impossible for him to reply until some time had passed. Never before or since have I met a respondent so deliberate, yet it is true that when introverts are concentrated on some inner impression it is impossible for them to turn their attention quickly to another matter. They must take their time about it because they must turn from the inner to the outer domain.

Another example of this tendency to deliberate rather than immediate expression is the introvert's hesitancy about making direct complaints. An extravert who is displeased with a waiter in a restaurant or a servant in his home, usually remonstrates immediately or as soon afterward as is convenient. According to his character he may voice criticism or simply explain his wishes but, in the absence of good reason for remaining silent, he will speak up without delay.

The introvert is different. Equally displeased with a servant or other employee, he either says nothing at the time or sometimes makes an indirect reference to the matter, possibly in an aside to another person. The only exception to this is in case the introvert is provoked to anger when his outburst, as is always the case with primitive emotion, will be immediate. But under ordinary circumstances the introvert's tendency is to bear the offense in silence. Only if it should be repeated, or if the same person should offend again even in a different way, is the introvert's resentment likely to explode unexpectedly.

Mrs. Ex, displeased with a cook who delays dinner half an hour immediately remonstrates, while Mr. Inn who

may be equally resentful at the delay, says nothing or makes an indirect allusion to the matter. However, if the servant should repeat the offence once or twice, Mr. Inn after waiting only a few minutes may administer a stinging rebuke, which is not only unexpected but disproportionate to the specific offense. Often when the introvert comes to the point of expressing displeasure or resentment, it is not for the present offense alone but for all preceding offenses. In general, the introvert does not express either pleasure or displeasure at once, whereas the extravert usually lets you know immediately whether he is pleased or not.

Because different introverts show more or less deliberation in connection with different matters, this same trait is manifest in a wide variety of circumstances, even in affairs of the heart. Mr. Inn has fallen deeply in love with a young woman whom he hopes one day to marry. In her company he is at times overwhelmed with love and admiration, a condition which renders him speechless, as if he were spellbound by an emotion which he finds it impossible to express. Months roll by, a year passes, and still his love remains without what an extravert would call adequate expression.

True, Mr. Inn calls twice a week, takes the young woman to theaters and other places of amusement, sends flowers on special occasions and a carefully selected gift at Christmas. Doubtless he looks upon all this as a demonstration of his affection. But however this may be, he has not put his love in words: he has never told his sweetheart that he loves her; he has never asked her to marry him. He experiences his devotion as deeply, he hopes as ardently as any lover but he keeps all this to himself; he

guards his love, letting it grow and flourish in his secret heart as if he dared not translate it into words. In such a vital step as revealing his love, his habitual deliberation in self-expression is evident.

I know a young man who paid attention to the girl of his heart for nearly two years, and at the end was crushed by the announcement of her engagement to another man. In discussing the affair the young woman, an extravert, admitted that she loved this particular Mr. Inn deeply but despairing at his failure to declare himself, at last concluded that he was not seriously interested in her, that he would never be more than a friend. Unhappy over the affair, she decided that the best way to put him out of her heart was to marry another. Obviously this was an extreme case of introvert deliberation, and also the young woman may have lacked that intuitive power with which women are said to be gifted in affairs of the heart. Yet it is undoubtedly true that overdeliberation in disclosing one's emotional state has doomed many an introvert to the loss of the woman he loved or believed he loved, although the consequences of overdeliberation hardly can be more serious than those of over precipitance in love affairs.

It is said that the philosopher Kant, undoubtedly an introvert, twice contemplated matrimony, but in each case deliberated so long before declaring himself that he lost his opportunity. In one affair the lady married a less hesitant swain, and in the other she removed to another town before the deliberate lover was able to bring himself to the point of proposing. Perhaps it was just as well in the case of a philosopher, with whom the single life doubtless agrees, but generally such a hesitant lover marries a more enterprising girl, one more skillful in divining his emo-

tional state and leading him to declare it. A wise girl will reveal her own inclinations in such a case, for this type of lover rarely risks a refusal.

Not only in connection with such important matters as declarations of love or proposals of marriage are introverts deliberate about expressing themselves. We have already seen that they delay expressing themselves about their ordinary impressions and attitudes, whereas extraverts are ever ready to talk on almost any subject. Because of their deliberation in expressing their thoughts, feelings and emotions, some introverts give the impression of mental slowness as well as lack of decision. Yet the introvert's mind may respond no less quickly than an extravert's; the difference is that the response is an inward, not an outward, one; that instead of playing on the surface of personality where it may be observed, it takes place within the confines of the introvert's own mind.

Although the introvert refrains from saying what he thinks and feels under the same circumstances which stimulate the extravert to express himself most fully, given time he ultimately expresses himself in some measure, although perhaps never so fully or so freely as an extravert.

A young introvert took his wife for a vacation to the Swiss Alps. It was their first view of mountain scenery of such magnificence, and the wife, an extravert, expressed her enthusiasm freely and almost continuously. Each new vista excited rapturous comment and she constantly called her husband's attention to this and that scenic detail.

The husband, as usual, was non-committal and, as a wife of several years' standing, she was wise enough to refrain from quizzing him about his impressions. However, after they had returned home she often wondered

just how much he had enjoyed the trip, whether or not he was greatly affected by the experience.

Two years later, husband and wife were sitting alone in a seaside cafe far from the Alps, when she happened to mention their trip, quite casually in connection with another subject. If the reader is an extravert he will be able to imagine the wife's amazement when her husband exclaimed, his face alight with reminiscence:

"What a trip that was! Do you know that was the most wonderful experience I ever had in my life?"

Several psychologists have suggested that introverts express themselves better in writing than in speech. Basically writing is as truly a form of self-expression as speaking, and we know that extraverts put themselves into their writing just as they put themselves into their conversation. It may be, however, that when the psychologist says that the introvert expresses himself better in writing than speaking, he means that the introvert expresses himself more freely and more fully, and this does seem to be true. I believe that this is partly because people usually write about personal experiences a while after they have occurred, almost never during and only rarely immediately after the occurrence. Because introverts can express themselves about important experiences only after they have had time to incorporate the effect of those experiences, they may be able to discuss in a letter a week or a month afterward, an event which they could hardly have mentioned at the time.

But in addition to the introvert's deliberation, which doubtless causes him to express himself more freely in writing than in speech, there is the fact that the introvert finds pen and paper less challenging than the presence of

another (at least certain others) and therefore expresses himself more freely. However, it is not only in writing that the introvert may be emboldened to express himself more freely than if he were face to face with his friend. I have known the long-distance telephone to inspire an introvert to express himself with unwonted freedom.

Although not the most important reason for the introvert's tendency to taciturnity in strange company, his deliberation in speaking even of ordinary matters doubtless contributes. In a group of people, even people who are not necessarily strangers, the introvert seems to speak less frequently, not only because the presence of these people acts as a deterrent to self-expression, but perhaps because of his habitual deliberation. The introvert generally thinks before he speaks, the extravert while he is speaking. The extravert seizes every opportunity to express himself in order to put himself into the objective context, while the introvert, hesitant to speak, sometimes waits too long; a fresh topic of conversation is broached and still his thought remains unspoken.

It is obvious that although thoughtless chatter is of no worth, and even intelligent extraverts often merely chatter, conversation cannot flourish in too deliberate a climate. Some introverts are less hesitant about starting to speak before strangers than overdeliberate in putting the words together, leaving pauses and gaps in their discourse.

One introvert I know, a fast enough talker to intimates, often takes so long to express himself about certain things, especially to strangers, that occasionally his wife, an extravert, wearied of his conversational fumbling, snatches a slow-spun sentence from his lips and quickly completes it for him. This saves time but it may be irritating to an

introvert and discouraging in its effect on future conversational efforts. Although he may be slow to launch his words on the sea of conversation, most introverts resent having those words snatched from them and launched by another, unless perchance the other person expresses exactly what the introvert intended to say, which rarely happens. Introverts also find the extravert's habit of interrupting another's discourse by impulsive expressions of his own, exceedingly irritating.

The disadvantages of the extravert tendency to speak precipitately are no less great than the introvert tendency to overdeliberation in self-expression. Often the extravert commits himself to a position which he later finds untenable or expresses enthusiasms which soon cool, and all too frequently finds himself in embarrassing situations because of his hasty self-expression. Furthermore the extravert's conversational rush causes him to make remarks which are not only banal but which often make him appear superficial or even stupid, although this may not be the case. Much that an extravert says contributes little to the conversation but seems to be made merely for his own benefit, as if to prove that he is aware of what is going on and is affected by it. For the extravert's inability to realize experience in his own mind causes him to muse or think aloud and often these thoughts and musings would be better off where the introvert keeps them—to himself.

Obviously extraverts can learn to think before they speak, to exercise caution and deliberation in self-expression, to restrain the impulse to tell everything the moment it comes to mind. So, too, can introverts learn to speak out more promptly so as to gain greater conversational fluency. But the nature of the untutored extravert

is to speak about everything impulsively, of the untutored introvert to speak, especially about himself, only after deliberation.

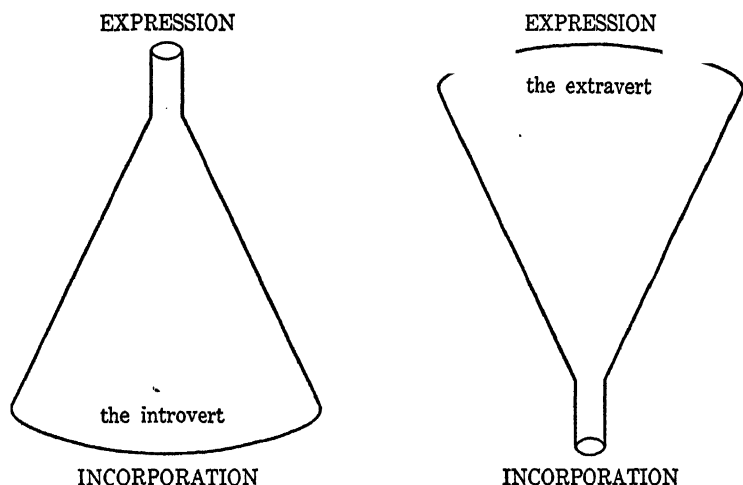
There is an essential relation between the extravert's expression of his personal reactions and his precipitance in speaking. Immediate reactions are usually somewhat personal, therefore the extravert's quick self-expression necessarily exposes distinctly personal elements.

On the other hand, the introvert's deliberation in expression gives him time to extract personal elements so that only the impersonal residue remains. It is chiefly in crises of primitive emotion (rage or terror) that introverts explode into distinctly personal expression. In a sudden outburst of anger the introvert, like the extravert, can be murderously personal, but when he is his normal self he withholds immediate expression of personal responses until after he has had time to incorporate his experiences. By that time they have been shorn of the most of their definitely personal connections so that some of the life and humanity have gone out of them. But as we shall see, that life and humanity have not been lost; they have been incorporated into the introvert's own mind to nourish his own spirit, rather than having been poured as libations upon the world.

That richness and humanity which the extravert continuously expresses, the introvert keeps safely locked within himself. That is why, as we shall see in the next chapter, the introvert actually may be more warmly responsive within himself than the extravert. But for the moment, let me stress the fact that immediate expressions are rich with distinctly personal elements, whereas expressions which follow incorporation, having been stripped of

these more intimate connections, seem poor in consequence. Extraverts express first and incorporate afterward, insofar as they incorporate at all. Introverts incorporate first and express afterward, insofar as they express at all.

Thus in important personal experiences, the proportion of expression to incorporation is exactly opposite in extraverts and introverts. Imagine two funnels shaped like



cones, one having its apex in the direction of expression, its wide base toward incorporation; the other having its apex toward incorporation, its wide base toward expression. The first funnel represents introversion: it takes a great deal of incorporation to yield a little expression (long afterward). The second funnel represents extraversion: it takes a great deal of expression to yield a little incorporation (long afterward). For the extravert is as deliberate about facing his own subjective impressions as

the introvert is deliberate about facing the unincorporated external world. Each type deliberates before confronting the aspect of experience which he distrusts.

This is a crude analogy but it is intended to illustrate the point which we must realize clearly, that is, that while each type has its prerogative, its primary accomplishment which it performs spontaneously and relatively continuously (excepting in unusual conditions), each is able to perform the other accomplishment (however inexpertly) as a secondary or occasional process. In any important experience impressions surge into the introvert's mind, after which some expression seeps out; but from extraverts expression surges forth freely and only afterward does some impression seep into the mind.

An interesting sidelight was thrown on the foregoing chapters by the comment of an introvert friend who was kind enough to express her opinion. She told me that she believed it a mistake to make the statement that introverts do not reveal important experiences to strangers, adding that she herself had done so.

Naturally I asked her to relate some of the circumstances under which she had discussed intimate affairs with strangers. She replied that it was only under circumstances which offered a guarantee of never meeting the person again, as often happens in travelling, especially abroad. Seeking more enlightenment, I asked her to what sort of person and on what subjects she had spoken so freely. She then revealed that forty years before, as a young girl, she had confided in a man who had showed her attention during a transatlantic crossing, a personal matter which was so near to her heart that she had never mentioned it to another person, even an intimate, before or since.

She remembered this incident so clearly because in a life of more than sixty years, an unusually active life, she had only once astonished herself by speaking of a personal matter to a stranger, a man whom she never expected to see again.

Unless because of some other association, no extravert would be likely to remember the one incident so vividly for the reason that during the forty years since, he would have revealed personal matters to many people, strangers as well as friends. But this woman could remember only a single occasion in a lifetime on which she had revealed an important personal matter to a stranger (doubtless under extraordinary circumstances) probably because such a rare occurrence was set up as a monolith in her memory.

Summary of type differences in self-expression

Self-expression, especially by means of the spoken word, is the extravert's prerogative and his habits of speaking differ in at least four ways from those of introverts:

1. The extravert speaks to everybody not only about impersonal "safe" topics but also about his own thoughts, feelings and the details of his personal affairs (except when he has something to conceal). He puts himself freely into his conversation just as he puts himself into his writing.

2. He speaks precipitately, that is during and immediately following his experience.

3. The extent, the fullness of his expression is directly proportional to the fullness of his interest and the intensity of his response. The more profoundly he is affected, the more freely and expansively he speaks and the more dependent he is upon full rapport with others.

4. He values talk and distrusts silence, not only because

he considers full self-expression indispensable to complete rapport but because of his lack of an inner principle by which to order his experience.

As for introverts, we have seen that it is unwise to say simply that they are less talkative than extraverts. Although such rough and ready generalizations are sometimes useful in practice, they are superficial and inexact. Let me remind the reader also that just as extraverts can remain silent upon occasion and even display skill in concealing their opinions and emotions when concealment is to their advantage, introverts sometimes speak freely about themselves, usually to intimates. Ordinarily, however, the introvert's use of the spoken word differs from that of extraverts in the following details:

1. The introvert usually speaks about impersonal "safe" topics. He tends to omit his own feelings from discussions of his affairs and to present all matters in impersonal form.

2. He expresses himself after deliberation, (a) in ordinary conversation about certain matters after some reflection, and (b) in conversation even with incorporated people he expresses himself about important experiences hardly ever during the experiences, only afterward, sometimes a very long time afterward. The more powerful his feeling the longer the introvert must delay before voicing it.

3. The extent of his immediate self-expression about a personal experience is inversely proportionate to the importance of that experience.

4. He values his own silence and distrusts his own speech, especially with unincorporated people. He considers talk dispensable, and only silence indispensable because of his need to incorporate and his independence of rapport.

CHAPTER 9

INTENSITY AND EXTENSITY. THE MORE AND THE LESS SENSITIVE PERSON

A Chinese proverb reads: "He who speaks does not know; he who knows does not speak." A peculiar truth is hidden here. Although the statement is obviously absurd if we assume that knowing refers to intellectual knowledge, for example, to knowledge of mathematics or languages, by interpreting the philosopher's use of the verb "know" to mean "to experience inwardly" we uncover the hidden truth. Translated into the terms used here the adage would read, "He who expresses himself does not incorporate; he who incorporates does not express himself." People who incorporate are necessarily sensitive to the inner impression, for it is the inner impression which is incorporated. This brings us to the question of sensitivity, one of the most interesting type differences.

Introverts are often described as sensitive. But the word "sensitive" is used in different ways. Indeed there are different kinds as well as different degrees of sensitivity, kinds which it is necessary for us to distinguish carefully.

First, there is the sensitivity of the person who is touchy, easily offended, ready to interpret any casual remark as a slight or a personal disparagement. This sort of sensitiveness is a sign of the feeling of inferiority. People with "sore" egos are likely to be unusually sensitive to real or fancied criticism, although they may be adept at conceal-

ing this infirmity behind a mask of indifference or urbanity.

Another meaning of sensitivity is hyperacuity, the opposite of a blunt, unresponsive, callous condition. To be sensitive is requisite for being responsive, adaptable, fully alive; unless a person is sensitive he cannot adapt effectively. The more sensitive he is in this respect, the greater will be his ability to detect slight clues, to discriminate subtle differences in experience and to respond accordingly.

According to this definition of sensitive, there can be no question of one type's being generally more or less sensitive than the other. Obviously individuals are sensitive in different ways, to different things or aspects of things. The artist, the scientist, the philosopher are sensitive to everything connected with their respective domains, although each may be relatively insensitive to conditions in other domains. In order that anyone may be sensitive his mind must be alert and in general (although there have been notable exceptions) his body normal. Thus the moron is not sensitive to intellectual problems nor the blind man to art, and the critically sick man, whose mental and physical processes are blunted by pain or languor, loses much of his normal sensitivity. Furthermore, the person most sensitive to beauty, for example, is more sensitive to some beautiful things than to others and more sensitive at some times than at others, because of the direction and concentration of his attention under different circumstances and at different life periods. Innumerable individual differences affect this form of sensitivity.

Although this has no connection with introversion or extraversion, I have pointed it out in order to emphasize the fact that the adjective "sensitive" may apply to various

characteristics. However I believe that the word is often, perhaps most commonly used to indicate first, a condition which might be defined as a tendency to recoil from or to be irritated by external influences and secondly, a susceptibility to impressions, which is the capacity for being profoundly affected by experience. According to both these definitions, introverts are properly described as more sensitive than extraverts.

Putting aside the matter of personal touchiness which afflicts extraverts also, introverts are typically sensitive to and often irritated by directly personal remarks as well as by unrequested advice and suggestions. The introvert recoils from these especially when made by strangers or people whom he dislikes. Yet even in his dealings with intimates he is sensitive to pressure of any kind. For he cherishes above all his spiritual independence, his right to live according to subjective need without having to conform to external demands. The introvert is sensitive to and distrustful of every influence which seems to assert the power of the outer world over the inner.

In addition to his sensitiveness to any infringement of his subjective sovereignty, the introvert is sensitive to anything which he interprets as an intrusion into his private life. From this he shrinks as a mimosa shrinks from contact. More important, however, is the fact that the introvert is sensitive to the inner effect, the inner impression of his experience.

Being sensitive to inner impressions involves a narrowing and deepening of interest and attention, while being aware less of impressions than of one's relation to objective events involves a widening, an expansion of interest and attention. If this is so, we may link the introvert's sensi-

tivity to his inner intensity and say that, other things being equal, he is sensitive to and deeply impressed by a few things or aspects of things. On the other hand the extravert, less intensely impressed, is attentive to a greater range of experience. The extravert is extensive rather than intensive; he responds readily to a wide variety of people and things. But being responsive to a wider range of experience, the extravert is not so intensely affected by those many experiences as the introvert is affected by his few.

Mrs. Ex is less moved, less intensely affected by her experiences than Mrs. Inn, other things being equal. While the former's responses to her joys and sorrows and to those of loved ones are freely expressed, they agitate the surface of personality, leaving the subjective depths relatively unmoved. This is no discredit to Mrs. Ex, for no one can throw himself into rapport and at the same time incorporate, these processes being mutually counteractive. The extravert is moved to tears, to demonstrations of rapture or despair by the force of a great experience whereas the introvert may be (externally) simply benumbed. Yet inwardly it is the introvert who is tremendously agitated, intensely impressed by his emotion which, finding no vent, builds up great pressure within his own psyche.

Just as heat from an uninsulated oven is sooner dissipated, warming the room but, after the fire goes out, leaving the stove itself cold, so the extravert's demonstration tends to dissipate, to rid him of the effect of his emotion. On the other hand the introvert, like an insulated oven, radiates less heat but retains his warmth for a longer period.

The introvert's experiences have an enduring effect, his impressions go deep. The extravert, on the other hand,

through his free self-expression, impresses others with the force of his emotion, thereby escaping much of its effect on his own psyche. It is not that he is insincere or hypocritical; his emotion may be perfectly honest. It simply leaves a less permanent inner impression, or rather because some impression undoubtedly remains, he is simply less conscious of it. For let me repeat that by his expressiveness, his overt demonstrations, the extravert insulates himself against the subjective effect of his experiences no less effectively than the introvert insulates himself against direct personal contact with the external world. It is the introvert's acceptance of the inner effect of experience which makes him the more sensitive type.

The introvert is like a man in a storm in a paper suit: the rain drenches him to the skin. The extravert, on the contrary, is like a man in a raincoat: the rain slides off without wetting him. The introvert is permeable; experience affects him deeply if it affects him at all. It gets under his skin. Naturally a man in a paper suit is inclined to take to cover in inclement weather, while the man in the raincoat can venture out rain or shine, not because he is braver or because he enjoys a drenching but simply because the rain cannot get to him. It glistens on the surface of his coat, then slides off leaving him almost as dry as ever.

For example let us imagine two young men, an introvert and an extravert sitting out a dance on the veranda of a country club, each with the girl he loves. The extravert appears to be more affected by the conversation than the introvert because he expresses enthusiasm in every word and gesture. The introvert's experience may not stimulate any unusual expression, but it penetrates, it moulds and carves intricate, diversified traces which leave lasting marks

on his inner life. For the marks of experience lie deep within the introvert; experience carves and shapes his subjective stuff with transforming motions. Thus behind the calm exterior of the introvert lover lies an impressionable substratum quiveringly responsive to the dint of experience, deeply marked by its impact. While the extravert reflects his emotion from the surface of his personality as a mirror reflects light, the introvert absorbs his emotion into the depths of his being.

The extravert may be transformed for the moment by an experience, but because of his free spending of the emotional currency which the introvert hoards, he soon recovers and is his same unaltered self again. All he carries away is a memory, a lesson, a bit of personal history. He is not conscious of any subjective alteration because he is not conscious of inner impressions as a context, so he goes on his way relatively unchanged by the tide of feeling which swept over him. Whatever the effect of his emotion upon those around him and on his relation with them, the extravert's own mind is freed to a great extent of its charge of impressions by the transmission of that charge to the external world. Therefore, insofar as expression is concerned, the extravert is sensitive-reactive, but insofar as the inner effect of love or compassion, for example, are concerned it is the introvert who is more sensitive. He is sensitive-reactive within his own being, although outwardly he may appear unmoved.

But we must avoid the erroneous idea that all introverts are in every respect deep, while all extraverts are shallow and superficial. The adjectives "deep" and "shallow" as applied to people suggest conscious appreciation of those intellectual, esthetic or moral principles, relations and

values which escape the ordinary mind. Insofar as this appreciation has to do with the mental, moral and esthetic differentiation of the individual it can have no bearing on introversion and extraversion. This must be so inasmuch as neither type is in any way superior to the other. When we say that an introvert is more profoundly sensitive to his experience, we may mean that this is a simple spontaneous emotional effect and nothing more, although in an intelligent introvert the effect is much more. Actually an introvert may be as dull-witted, as immature intellectually and morally as an extravert. Only because his thoughts, feelings and emotions are pent up inside him do they attain a pressure which is more intense than that of extraverts. "Deep" and "shallow" as descriptions of introverts and extraverts apply only to the capacity for concentrating on subjective effects, i.e., for incorporation. General recognition of this fact is expressed in the common saying "Still waters run deep." It could never be proved experimentally but is uncovered only after careful study of individuals, together with a study of their writings, especially the writings of poets, several of whose works * offer clear revelations of this inner intensity.

Despite his sensitive inner nature, under certain conditions certain introverts appear to be the coldest and hardest of men. They can remain aloof, detached, to all appearances unmoved in situations which would melt an extravert to tears or inspire him with rapture. I have seen an introvert remain apparently unmoved to sympathy by what seemed to me the most pitiable sights. I have seen one of them express only conventional thanks for favors which would have moved me to prodigal expressions of

* See "Suggested Reading."

gratitude. Yet this outer coldness is not only conformable with inner sensitivity: it is the other half, the reverse side of it.

Strange as it may seem, the more deeply he has been wounded the more staunchly and steadfastly does the introvert resist all subsequent emotional invasions, the more resolutely does he steel himself against every influence which might affect him. Often the world deals painful blows to the introvert, blows which serve to reinforce his resistance to external contacts, causing him to redouble his self-defenses.

The introvert cannot change the nature of his tender subjective stuff nor can he change the nature of the world which has the power to lacerate it. Once deeply hurt, all he can do is to increase his protective measures in desperate self-defense.

In order to do this the introvert must steel himself against all expressions of emotion, must make his self-defenses so formidable as to discourage all who would approach him. If an introvert child is wounded deeply by parents or other loved ones, or if an adult is disappointed in love, his natural coolness may turn to cold, his loneliness to isolation, his natural mistrust of personal contacts to misanthropy. The introvert may become, although fortunately few do become, the coldest and hardest of men.

I believe it was Goethe who said: "Only he who has been the most sensitive can become the coldest and hardest of men; he must encase himself in triple steel and often his coat of mail oppresses him." Where the extravert is made sorrowful or melancholy by such an experience as the treachery of loved ones, the introvert is made ice-cold, flint-hard. Injure an extravert and there remains an open

wound: injure an introvert and there remains a horny callus. Without some insight into the nature of the man, it would be impossible to believe that the callus had grown over a deep and painful injury. One might suppose, as many of us do suppose, that it is just the nature of that skin to be tough, indurate. But it is only because he was once wounded so deeply that the introvert has developed such a formidable crust. Where the hurt extravert holds out his wounds for the world to see and perhaps to kiss away, the introvert nurses his wounds in secret, at last sealing them away forever beneath an impenetrable shell. This shell of indifference, this armour of defiance or antagonism is his protection against further suffering. Although he never asks for sympathy, we must remember that this hard exterior encases quivering emotional tissue as the hard shell of an oyster encases tender living substance.

Only an introvert who has been deeply wounded develops this stony exterior of calloused cynicism. But it is probable that most bitter misanthropes are introverts, introverts who were once wounded deeply, so deeply that they now wear stark indifference to humanity as armour against future thrusts of fate.

The hurt or duped extravert may develop a cynical point of view, a conviction that mankind is evil. But because his nature is to retain his overt relation to the world, he continues to do so, although his philosophy may be one of cynicism. But the hurt introvert may be driven to shun the world, not because the world makes no difference to him but because it makes so much difference.

We know that even a normal introvert, one who has suffered only ordinary hurts and disappointments in his

relation with loved ones, never shows his pain as extraverts do. The extravert reacts to his experiences just as he learns from them and profits by them; but the introvert does something more, he bleeds where they have scratched him.

A young introvert friend once said to me, "If I should have an important experience, say if I got married or had a child, I should literally never be the same again. Such an experience would alter me in the very depths of my being. But I feel that almost anything could happen to you and you would somehow always be the same. I don't mean that you would be apathetic or unmoved; what I mean is that something inside you would remain somehow unchanged, that you yourself would remain unchanged, while I myself would be completely transformed by the force of that experience." After we discussed the matter a while, he added:

"I don't believe that experience affects you in the same way that it affects me; you are soft enough outside, but underneath there is a rock-like core which experience simply does not reach and for that reason cannot change."

The remarkable thing about my friend's statement is that it was based on accurate insight into himself and me. He knew nothing of the psychological types, nor did I at that time. Indeed, at the time, I hardly knew what he meant and therefore could not appreciate the extraordinary insight which his statement revealed. It is only lately that I have been able to understand that what he was trying to show me was the difference in our fundamental attitudes, a difference which neither of us realized was common to the two psychological types. Yet this young man discovered, for himself, the psychological law that one cannot be inwardly transformed by his experience and

be outwardly transformed at the same time, that the outward transformation halts the inward as exhaling halts inhaling. No matter how interested, responsive and emotionally expressive an extravert may be, the very fact that he demonstrates his responses fully and immediately prevents his being so shaken by them as an introvert would be.

The type of person who is so shaken, who sustains such lasting impressions is forced to defend himself against many impressions which, if all were allowed to reach his subjective center, would swamp him in an affective tide. Why is not the extravert so swamped? Because as we have seen, his tide flows outward, thus preventing the passage of the incoming flow of impressions.

The extravert can in perfect sincerity laugh or cry, sympathize, praise or condemn. He can create an effect and produce an external impression through his natural rapport, yet retain little or no effect, receive little or no permanent impression within himself. And the evidence indicates that it is not because he is innately incapable of realizing the subjective meaning of experience, but because he is so specialized in his response and relation to the external world that he is forced to turn his back on his own inner life (see Chapter 14). In this he is untrue to the inner principle in himself, but no more than the introvert is untrue to the principle of relation to the outer world. As Jung * expressed it:

"Whereas . . . an extensive feeling of sympathy can express itself in both word and deed at the right place, thus quickly ridding itself of its impression, an intensive sympathy, because shut off from every means of expression, gains a passionate depth that embraces the misery of

* "Psychological Types," pages 493-4.

a world and is simply benumbed. It may possibly make an extravagant irruption, leading to some staggering act of an almost heroic character, to which, however, neither the object nor the subject can find a right relation. To the outer world, or to the blind eyes of the extravert, this sympathy looks like coldness, for it does nothing visibly, and an extraverted consciousness is unable to believe in invisible forces."

CHAPTER 10

TWO VIEWPOINTS. HOW THE TYPES JUDGE AND MISJUDGE EACH OTHER

Because extraverts view experience in relation to the objective context, while introverts view it in relation to the subjective, it is inevitable that a man's judgments of people of opposite type should frequently go wide of the mark. Yet we know that this is not because extraverts and introverts think or act according to different fundamental motives. It is because the same motive may be placed in two different contexts and interpreted accordingly, just as the sign "O" may be interpreted differently according to whether it is placed in an alphabetical or a numerical context.

This makes for different standards of consistency in thought and action. Since the two standards lie in different planes, unless each is viewed according to its own perspective it is likely to appear distorted. Because of these differences in perspective the value of one type may be the worthlessness of the other: that which seems natural and self-evident to one may seem preposterous to the other.

It is apparent that without some insight into the other typical point of view, intimate association between people of opposite type is fraught with possibilities of misunderstanding. To the naive person, those attitudes which he does not understand especially those which oppose his

"self-evident" truths, appear in the worst possible light, causing him to accuse even those he loves of obstinacy, folly or ill will. For it is only to be expected that from our limited acquaintance with human nature we should view as idiosyncrasies many traits and attitudes which are typical of half the human race, as my introvert friend viewed my extravert insensitivity. We have no way of determining that half the human race is introverted, half extraverted but the distribution, although independent of sex, is similar to that of sex. (See Chapter 12.)

Yet much of the friction between people of different type is based on contrast between the mentality which views contact with the external world as a self-evident "reality," and that which looks upon subjective "realities" as self-evident. Although obviously this is only one among many possibilities of misunderstanding which arise from various sources, moral, intellectual and emotional together with differences in culture and past experience, without some insight into type differences it is unusually difficult to correct.

"The introvert makes the mistake of always wanting to relate action to the subjective psychology of the extravert, while the extravert can only conceive the inner mental life as a product of external circumstance." * Extraverts believe that everybody's manner of response must be the result of his overt relation to the people around him, of something he ate or of some other outward circumstance. On the other hand, introverts believe that everybody's manner of response must be the result of an inner attitude, a mood or some subjective condition. For this

* "Psychological Types" by C. G. Jung, page 205.

reason each type is likely to attribute the other's behavior to causes which govern only his own.

There are many examples of tragic misunderstandings between people who needed only a little more insight into a psychology different from their own, to overcome their difficulties. The following examples of the way in which extraverts and introverts misjudge each other are not intended to apply universally, but illustrate basic, indeed frequent misjudgments. Furthermore, they apply chiefly to ordinary relations between friends, relatives and fellow-workers. Where mutual attraction exists, especially sexual, different effects may result. It is well to discriminate between judgments customary in dealings with our doctor or grocer, our cousin or neighbor, in contrast with judgments of sweetheart, of fiancée, husband or wife. Because of the peculiar nature of relationships based on sex attraction another chapter deals with that subject. Here I consider primarily those relations without emotional attraction although the following judgments are often applied also to people we love. For regardless of how deeply we love, we are sure to discover, sooner or later, what we deem to be faults and follies in anyone we have to live with.

We know that one of the most common misjudgments that extraverts pass on introverts is that of unsociability. On how many occasions, after their return home from a party, has an extravert reproved an introvert husband or wife, brother or sister, with the comment:

"Why can't you be more sociable? You hardly said a word all evening, just sat there as if you had lost your tongue. You can be nice and friendly when you feel like

it; you are nice to some people. Why can't you be nice to everybody?"

If extraverts consider introverts unsociable because at times the latter instinctively expose as little personal surface as possible, the introvert is at times no less critical of the extravert. Introverts often admire the extravert's fluency in social relations, yet there are times when it appears to them as inconsistent, even hypocritical. Indeed from one point of view it is decidedly inconsistent to treat everybody with almost equal cordiality even in similar or identical circumstances, for the reason that no one could possibly feel an equal interest in everybody or bear all men a similar subjective relation. Indeed at times, the extravert's indiscriminate cordiality to people who mean nothing to him personally seems to smack of hypocrisy.

Yet the extravert looks upon unfailing cordiality and unwearied conversability as indispensable to social intercourse. Naturally the extravert prefers some people to others and desires a more permanent rapport with them. Yet because it is his nature to create impressions and to promote rapport, he talks freely to people in whom he has not the slightest personal interest whenever occasion demands it. That is why he is prone to look upon the introvert's inability to do the same as evidence of an unsociable and uncooperative, perhaps even downright selfish nature. For just as the extravert is unaware of the negative side of his own indiscriminate sociability, he is unaware of the positive value beneath the introvert's reserve.

Some extraverts consider that the introvert, especially the introvert of the same sex, is not only lacking in sociability but that he is spiritless and deficient in charm. For the extravert seldom realizes that the introvert's real nature

may be different from the impersonal mask which he usually wears before strangers. Frequently the extravert sees in an introvert of his own sex either a tepid and timorous personality without a ray of charm, or a cold and self-centered one. As we shall see later, to personable introverts of opposite sex this judgment does not always apply, but in my experience it has proved a stumbling block in understanding introvert women.

But what does the introvert think of the loquacious, enthusiastic, outreaching extravert? Does the introvert always find him as magnetic as the extravert imagines himself to be? Perhaps at times he may, but at other times the introvert looks upon the other's tireless vivacity and unquenchable thirst for rapport as decidedly tiresome, even as threatening to his own personal sovereignty. Let me quote the judgment of a gifted introvert writer, John Cowper Powys, on this subject:

"Vigorous, robust, expansive natures cannot refrain from overriding and overwhelming every other self they approach. They mean no harm. They are not cruel or malicious. . . . Nevertheless, in their innocence, they are the worst enemy against which the . . . soul has to be defended. And the self, in its habitual struggle to retain its lonely identity, has been driven to supply itself with this supreme art of self-obliteration." *

Alas the extravert's eagerness to establish personal contact with those around him, which he himself considers gracious amiability, appears at times either tiresome and annoying or so dismaying that the introvert is driven to obliterate himself behind his psychological wall. Doubtless

* "The Philosophy of Solitude," by John Cowper Powys, courtesy of Simon and Schuster (1933), page 57.

it would be a blow to many enthusiastic, over-friendly extraverts to realize that to some people at least, they appear not as attractive but as dangerous forces against which the introvert must insulate himself to avoid emotional shock. And in more intimate relations, the gluttony for rapport of many extraverts can degenerate into a personal tyranny against which the introvert must use every means of self-protection at his command.

Furthermore introverts sometimes mistake certain extravert characteristics for evidence of egotism and vanity. To a person whose instinct is to guard the personal life from all disclosure, the extravert's flaunting of personal things, his habit of calling attention to his thoughts, feelings and emotions may appear at times as vanity or egotism. Although we know that, in general, the extravert does not hesitate to discuss whatever is on his mind, actually this may have nothing to do with vanity or egotism however boring or indiscreet it may be.

A girl of three who runs up to a stranger exclaiming: "See my new dress—it's got bows on it," is not necessarily expressing vanity, but she is expressing extraversion. For the extravert's nature is to make the whole world witness to his joy, sorrow, pride of possession or fear of loss. Yet his simple urge to call attention to his things and the way he feels about them indicates, of itself, no more vanity than does the introvert's silent pleasure in possession. For anyone, child or adult, may be vain without revealing vanity in the straightforward manner of an extravert child with a new dress. The point is that whatever the extravert has on his mind, whether it be a matter of pride or chagrin, pleasure or regret, seeks expression. Therefore when an extravert, in his naive exuberance, calls on someone to

witness his delight in a new possession or a fresh success, it is merely an expression of the same satisfaction which an introvert would guard within.

Certain introvert tendencies are no less likely to be interpreted as evidence of vanity or egotism of a more serious kind, often mixed with lack of feeling. This is partly because the introvert's conduct, being less explicit, is susceptible of a wider variety of misinterpretations.

I know of a young introvert woman who was born and grew up in a southern city. She sang in church and was known for her beautiful voice, although few of the townspeople realized that it was a voice of operatic quality. Fortunately a relative of the girl recognized her talent and sent her to Europe to study. On her return to this country she learned that her townspeople considered her an international celebrity, yet she was hardly prepared for the lavish reception which greeted her arrival in her native city.

This reception included a triumphal parade through the city with bands playing, flags waving and streets thronged with cheering townsfolk. Stirred by the ovation, a news reporter who was riding with the singer whispered to her: "Isn't this marvelous? Aren't you thrilled?" The celebrity, staring straight ahead, made no reply. Not to be put off so easily, the writer persisted: "Well, what is your reaction to all this? How does it make you feel?" To which the singer, after some hesitation replied: "It makes me feel like a fool."

To an extravert this reply is preposterous. To him it might indicate eccentricity but it also suggests vanity mixed with a lack of human feeling and gratitude. The reply is incomprehensible because his own response to

such a demonstration, whether he were proud or humble, would be one of distinct pleasure and appreciation.

Yet because the woman was undoubtedly an introvert, a young, inexperienced introvert, she was simply unable to make any overt response to an ovation for which she was entirely unprepared. Her sensitivity made its effect overwhelming and perhaps the very intensity of her inner experience paralyzed her outwardly. All she could do at the moment was to take refuge behind her barrier of reserve. Pressed to explain her attitude, she was perhaps abashed and confused and she could reveal only her conception of the strangeness of her position.

She may or may not have felt like a fool, but under coercion she found only those words to convey her sense of helplessness and constraint. An older, more experienced person would have been less helpless in such a setting but even experienced introverts, wise in the ways of celebrity, make little personal response to public acclaim. Often they go through the motions of appreciation as through a formal routine.

A great orchestra leader, accustomed to ovations wherever he performs, responds to applause as a tedious but unavoidable formality. Because he is an introvert as well as a modest genius, the plaudits of his audience seem to affect him less as a stimulant than a bitter dose. He fairly winces when the applause swells with shouted "bravos" and one feels that only a supreme effort prevents him from fleeing. An extravert artist might be equally modest, yet find in the applause of his eager audience genuine pleasure and inspiration. He would drink deeply of it, not swallow it with a wry face. Yet the introvert's apparent lack of relish for applause indicates neither indifference

to success nor lack of genuine appreciation of the response of those who make success possible.

Another misjudgment which extraverts are prone to pass on introverts is that of disingenuity. This is because the introvert's reserve about expressing himself appears at times as willful concealment of information. Such a thing as failing or even hesitating to mention that a man under discussion is one's friend is unthinkable to an extravert, at least in the absence of a practical motive for concealment. Naturally he expects equally complete statements from other people, and when these are not forthcoming the extravert believes either that the introvert is concealing a shameful secret or that for some reason of personal advantage, he chooses to exercise guile.

This is because, judging others by himself, the extravert cannot fail to be suspicious of any lack of freedom in self-expression. The only circumstances under which he would fail to reveal that a man is his friend would be if the extravert were ashamed to own his friendship, if he felt that it might be to his own or to his friend's disadvantage for the company to learn of it, or if he had only ill to speak of the man and chose to keep silent. It is natural, therefore, for him to suspect the introvert of willful concealment of those facts which he refrains from disclosing, and under some circumstances to judge him as lacking in honesty and candor.

Yet we know that there is no foundation for such a judgment because the introvert's tendency toward self-expression is rooted in different soil. Obviously anyone, introvert or extravert, may be a deceiver but the introvert's failure to mention a personal matter indicates no intention to mislead. Nor does the extravert's habit of

disclosing everything connected with himself necessarily indicate honesty, for he has the human tendency to reveal himself in the best possible light.

Because everybody, regardless of type, enjoys imparting news and gossip, it is not necessarily safer to confide secrets to introverts than to extraverts. It is only their own important personal affairs that introverts shrink from revealing, just as it is about their own important affairs that extraverts feel the strongest urge to express themselves. Obviously everyone is interested in the affairs of his friends and neighbors, is eager to be the bearer of a piece of interesting news, and for this reason it is somewhat difficult for any of us to keep important secrets. Character rather than psychological type governs a person's reliability in the matter of respecting confidences, as in other forms of reliability.

Extraverts frequently criticize an introvert with the remark, "You never know where you stand with him. He won't talk; you can't get him to tell you anything." I have felt this to be so, and once asked an introvert friend if she did not find it easier to get along with extraverts because of their frankness in expressing what they think and feel. To my astonishment, for I had never considered the subject from her standpoint, she replied:

"It is true that your type of person seems to talk freely about what he thinks and feels but I have found that often what he tells you doesn't mean a great deal. Not that a truthful person isn't willing to be honest, but simply that when it is a question of importance about his own attitude, you discover that he doesn't really know himself. He talks a great deal, it is true, but often you feel that he is not sure of what he is talking about."

Again the adage proves its value: he who knows does not tell and he who tells does not know. After having gained this bit of insight into the other side of human reality, I have used it on several occasions in reply to an extravert's complaint about being unable to stimulate introverts to express themselves. And almost invariably, when confronted with this counterargument, the extravert rather ruefully admits that there is something in it.

Perhaps one of the most uncomplimentary judgments which extraverts pass on introverts is that of moodiness, sullenness, bad temper. Although anyone, extravert or introvert may be moody and bad tempered, extraverts often mistake for ill nature those manifestations of introversion which have nothing to do with the introvert's relation to the outside world, only with his relation to his subjective context.

Because, while he is absorbed in incorporation, the introvert is unable to make personal responses he is likely to be accused of moodiness or sulkiness. An introvert woman of my acquaintance lives in a small residential hotel where most of the guests know each other because of frequent encounters in elevators and public rooms. This young woman was in the habit of speaking to those guests whom she knew, always graciously enough. But occasionally she passed an acquaintance without speaking, apparently without noticing her at all. One of her fellow-guests criticized her rather severely for this.

"Mrs. Smith is nice enough when she wants to be," said the extravert, "always speaking in a friendly way when she speaks at all. But sometimes she passes you in the corridor without a word, just as if she hadn't seen you although of course she has because there is nothing the

matter with her eyes. But she is one of those moody people, nice enough when she feels right but subject to grouchy spells. I can't stand moody people myself." This is similar to my misinterpretation of my relative's silence at concerts. (Chapter 7.)

On the subject of tact and tactlessness extraverts and introverts have fundamentally different ideas, although both might define tact in the same words. Despite the fact that introverts have as much curiosity as extraverts they ask fewer personal questions, perhaps because of an instinctive reluctance to intrude into the privacy of others. To some extraverts this appears as timidity and constraint or indifference and lack of interest in others. On the other hand, the extravert's unabashed inquiries into the affairs of his friends often appears tactless to introverts, at times shockingly rude.

An introvert lady was at the beach with an extravert friend when they happened to meet a mutual acquaintance who was wearing an unusually smart bathing suit. After the latter had passed out of earshot, the introvert remarked that she wished she knew where she could find a similar suit.

"Why, I'll ask her where she bought hers," exclaimed the extravert and before her companion could reply was off, soon caught up with the other woman and made inquiry. Afterward the introvert told me that it would never have occurred to her to ask such a question of a mere acquaintance and that she was shocked by her companion's lack of compunction after, as she expressed it, "grilling" another person on the subject of her clothes.

Introverts are often shocked by the extravert's habit of inquiring into or commenting on personal matters in cas-

ual conversation, matters which the introvert would hesitate to discuss with any but his intimates, if at all. It is the extravert's nature to delve and inquire into almost anything, so long (in the case of kindhearted and intelligent people) as he hurts no feelings and uncovers no causes for embarrassment. Barring considerations of that sort the extravert finds nothing too personal, too sacrosanct to furnish material for conversation. Everything is the extravert's conversational oyster and he proceeds to pry it open without hesitancy, whether it concerns himself or another.

But to the introvert this prying into and fingering of personal matters, his own or another's, is incredibly tactless if not worse. He regards certain subjects as taboo, not merely because of the practical necessity to guard secrets or to hide shame but simply because of the fact that a matter is personal, that it relates to the inner life of himself or his loved ones. This alone is enough to set the matter apart from and place it above ordinary discussion as a sacred vessel is above ordinary use.

Even a matter which seems to the extravert of no great moment may come within the "sacred" category if it has to do with personal interests. I know a husband who confided to his wife his feeling about the sea, the way in which his imagination played about it in boyhood and what it meant to him. She thought it very poetic and later undertook to describe it to three friends who happened to call on them, one of whom her husband knew but slightly. Although the wife told the story in the most approving spirit, more as a matter of general than personal interest, her husband reproved her for tactlessness because to him it was a subject which she should have guarded

from casual disclosure. Probably the husband was really hurt, although he reproved his wife only for what he called her lack of tact.

Another extravert habit which introverts find difficult to endure is the habit of offering suggestions about how to do a piece of work or play a game or carry out a project. To the extravert the need to get practical results is more important than a person's subjective sovereignty, his right to do his job in his own way. For that reason extraverts not only do not hesitate to suggest improvements in the way another person is doing his work or playing his game, but most of them are usually ready to accept constructive suggestions from others. Not that extraverts relish personal criticism or petty interference but so long as the other person shows kindness and good nature, most extraverts are able to accept helpful, practical suggestions. Nor does the extravert object to direct requests and commands when he is working with someone else, provided always that these are made in a friendly and cooperative spirit so that rapport remains harmonious.

The introvert, on the other hand, views as tactless and obnoxious almost any unasked suggestion or advice about his work, and nothing seems to irritate him more than to have someone offer helpful suggestions as to how to fix a tire or, at a picnic, how to make the coffee or broil the meat. Furthermore, if two people are working together the introvert does not relish having the other person tell him bluntly to do this or that, however necessary such requests may be to the work at hand. For the introvert always wishes to be respected as a sovereign subject and anyone who treats him even for a moment as a means to a purely objective end, appears to him in a most unfav-

avorable light. (This is not exclusively a matter of type. As is the case with many such differences in viewpoint, egocentrism or "altertendency" on the part of requester and doer has a bearing.)

There is, then, not a single standard of tact, but two, the introvert and the extravert standards. To introverts tact seems to consist largely of the practice of respecting personal sovereignty to the end that no man's mental, moral or spiritual privacy will be invaded or exposed to comment. But the extravert's idea of tact is to make as graceful and effective rapport as possible with all men. The extravert even considers that he pays people a compliment by showing a respectful interest in their affairs. To him, one who never allows conversation to die or harmonious rapport to languish seems tactful. Naturally he too expects the tactful person to refrain from mentioning anything which might conceivably embarrass or dismay another, but barring that, he sees nothing tactless in any well-meant inquiry into personal matters.

To the introvert, however he may admire the tactful extravert's ability to promote harmonious rapport between people, the latter's direct inquiries are likely to seem untactful. It is not a matter of tolerance or kindness of heart: the extravert may discuss another's affairs with the greatest friendliness and good will. But the mere fact that he does discuss them, that he does drag out into the glare of conversation those matters which, from the introvert's viewpoint should be kept like photographic plates in the dark, seems tactless and inconsiderate.

Probably both extraverts and introverts would define tact as the ability to deal with people not only without giving offense, but so as to promote everybody's satisfac-

tion and wellbeing. Nevertheless these last are influenced by the individual's point of view. In general extraverts conceive of tact as the right word, the right gesture, the kindly and appropriate expression which puts people at their ease and promotes agreeable social intercourse. On the other hand, introverts conceive of tact with less emphasis on expression and more emphasis on the practice of respecting the separateness and independence of each individual. The word "tact" does not mean the same thing to introverts and extraverts although few of them realize the discrepancy.

This illustrates the principle that in regard to many things the different types speak, as it were, different languages without realizing it. Where high-minded extraverts look upon a man's life, his possessions, his freedom of speech and self-determination as sacred, high-minded introverts look upon his ideas, whimsicalities, even his illusions, all his subjective life as equally sacred. These must not be invaded, investigated, inquired into or exclaimed over, even in the friendliest spirit. To the introvert subjective things, however trivial, should be as sacred as a man's skin, as inviolable as his home.

It is partly because the extravert's range of interest is so wide, partly because he is alert to every sort of external thing, that he is likely to trespass on ground which the introvert regards as private. This contrast in the extensivity of the extravert and the intensity of the introvert causes a certain amount of friction between the types, not only because of actual misjudgments which each passes on the other, but because of the extravert's failure to understand that the introvert makes up in intensity what he lacks in extensivity, and the introvert's failure to realize that the

extravert's freedom in discussing everything on earth may have no petty personal implications.

The extravert is often annoyed by the introvert's apparent limitation of interest which he frequently mistakes for dullness. The introvert does not appear to take an interest in many subjects or in many people because his satisfactions are intensive rather than extensive. This makes him seem rather narrow, even self-centered because he has, for example, no interest in discussing even those topics which he finds absorbing, with people whom he does not know or like. It seems to the extravert that he and his own type take a broad, impersonal view of the world in that they are interested in many subjects and willing to discuss them with everybody, while the introvert's restriction of interest both in topics and people seems to bear the cast of egocentrism. What the extravert does not realize, of course, is that his own extensivity may serve egocentrism too; nor does he realize that the introvert's intensity may carry him beyond the purely selfish domain.

As common as any misjudgments based on typical differences are the contrasting interpretations which introverts and extraverts put upon expressions of personal feelings. For example, a young woman told two of her friends about her mother's injury in an automobile accident. She spoke of the fact that her mother would be forced to remain in the hospital for two months or more and of how difficult that would be for such an active person. She talked of the whole matter without reference to her own feelings; indeed she spoke in rather an impersonal manner. It was interesting afterward to hear the comments of two friends, one an introvert the other an extravert.

To the latter she seemed lacking in feeling and affection:

"Why, she spoke about the whole thing as if it were something that had happened to a stranger; she did not seem at all concerned. If it had been my mother I could not have spoken of it in such an offhand way. When I am anxious and distressed I show it."

The introvert's interpretation was different. To her the very restraint with which the friend told of her mother's injury bespoke the depth of her concern. While the extravert cannot believe in the existence of unexpressed feeling, the introvert knows from his own experience that the greatest outward restraint may tell of the greatest inward stress.

The misjudgments which we have just considered frequently arise from ordinary associations between people of different type. Perhaps it might not be amiss to add a few examples to those already noted (Chapter 1) of misinterpretations based not on experience alone, but at least in part, on inferences arising from faulty or insufficient knowledge of Jung's theory of the version types.

One possible inference is that introverts have better emotional control than extraverts. This may result from the idea that the practice of withholding expression of emotions prevents those emotions from developing their greatest strength. Yet as a matter of fact, the introvert who has not developed mature emotional control is as likely to be carried away in primitive emotional upheavals as extraverts are. In addition to the fact that he is subject to sudden anger and fear, his periods of stark apathy are as true indications of emotional stress as are the demonstrations of extraverts. Hence version has nothing to do with emotional control which is rather the fruit of self-discipline.

There is also the possibility that the introvert might be

considered the more idealistic, the more spiritual type. This is a mistake because despite the fact that, in general, philosophical idealism represents the introvert viewpoint and positivism or materialism the extravert, in ordinary discourse idealism usually means willingness to sacrifice selfish advantage for the sake of an ideal, or at least the point of view which recognizes the value of such sacrifice. Extraverts can be equally devoted to their ideals, as we have already seen, and equally self-sacrificing in the pursuit of them.

As for the extravert, he might be misjudged to be more sensuous or more materialistic because of his attachment to the objective world. That is, it might be assumed that he is captivated by the look, the feel and the sound of things as simple stimuli to his senses. This has nothing to do with extraversion as such but is rather a function of mind. An extravert may be conscious chiefly of intellectual or human values and only vaguely aware of the purely sensuous aspect of experience. If he happens to be more intellectual than perceptive, the concrete object may appeal to his mind rather than to his senses. Sensuality and spirituality, whatever interpretation we may give them, have no connection with extraversion or introversion. If an extravert is spiritual he will find his spiritual values in the objective context; if an introvert is sensuous he will gain satisfaction from inner impressions rather than from his projection of himself on the object.

One other possible misinterpretation is of the extravert's relation to other people. The concept of rapport or relatedness suggests to some people a more humanitarian, possibly a more charitable point of view. This is a mistake for the reason that charity and compassion have to do with

our feelings and convictions regarding our fellow men and our degree of "altertendency," not merely with the question of whether we are more aware of our relation to the external world or of our relation to the inner world. Although the extravert's nature makes him socially adaptable, his respect and compassion for his fellow beings is no simple product of that native adaptability. It is the product of character and feeling. Although this point may be perfectly obvious to the reader, I stress it because it seems to be a possible misconstruction.

Not infrequently people indicate that they consider introverts more thoughtful than extraverts, perhaps not more intelligent, but more interested in learning and intellectual pursuits. Sometimes they express what seems to be a similar idea by calling introverts more imaginative, men of thought rather than men of action. Perhaps the reader who has made none of these mistakes will bear with me while I repeat:

Extraverts may be as thoughtful, as imaginative, as interested in learning and as capable of creative work in literature or philosophy as introverts. The line which divides thoughtful from unthoughtful people, imaginative from unimaginative people, those who are interested in intellectual problems from those who are interested only in the problem of earning a living or amusing themselves, this line cuts through introversion and extraversion as it cuts through sex difference.

It is true that the mentality of introverts differs from that of extraverts according to the principles already mentioned (Chapter 5). But the difference lies rather in the derivation of ideas, the different manner of developing and dealing with them and the different mode of present-

ing the finished intellectual product.²⁴ Although the introvert seems temperamentally thoughtful because he experiences inwardly through incorporation rather than outwardly through rapport, he is no more thoughtful in an intellectual sense than an extravert. Introverts and extraverts think not more or less, but from different *a priori* premises and toward different goals, for the reason that the extravert finds himself in the world while the introvert finds the world in himself.

CHAPTER 11

EVERYDAY DEALINGS. WHAT TO EXPECT AND WHAT NOT TO EXPECT OF THE TWO TYPES

Only pseudo-psychologists and professors of salesmanship can supply formulas for dealing successfully with people. Formulas of this sort are of doubtful value partly because, in dealing with intelligent people, what you are outtells anything you may say or do and partly because the variety of individual interests, inclinations, beliefs, biases, enthusiasms and scruples is so great. The only general principle which applies to all dealings with all people is this: try to make people feel comfortable and acceptable; prove to them in every way that you not only respect yourself but that you respect them. But so broad a principle must be applied so as to conform to the peculiarities of different individuals; indeed, as we saw in connection with extravert and introvert standards of tact, it can hardly be applied without some insight into those peculiarities. The real basis of dealing successfully with people is to understand them. Unfortunately there is no substitute for understanding and no short cut to it.

We know that among the many peculiarities which make people so different there are certain traits which

are not so much individual as typical, for the uniqueness of everyone is the apex of a cone whose base merges with the collective human nature which is more or less common to all men. Therefore, although our understanding of the types cannot supply us with formulas of any sort, it does afford considerable practical advantage in dealing with people; not so much by guiding us in what to do as in warning us what not to do; not so much in teaching us how to influence people to do what we expect of them but in showing us what to expect of people and what not to expect, which is greater wisdom.

Although we know that people of opposite type frequently misjudge each other because of our common human failing of judging others by ourselves, it is equally true that they may be attracted, at times fascinated by people of opposite type. For that reason there is no cause for the extravert to assume that introverts will necessarily disapprove of him, or for the introvert to imagine that extraverts will necessarily dislike him. Despite the misunderstandings already considered, under favorable circumstances we often admire, indeed we are often strongly attracted to, people who possess the very qualities which we ourselves lack.

In general we know that we should not expect definite or complete expressions from introverts. Because of their tendency to understatement, we should read between the lines of what they say in order to understand something of what is in their minds, for seldom are they able to tell us. Of extraverts we know that their tendency is to overstate rather than to understate. We should be neither overly impressed by the extravert's enthusiasm and familiarity on short acquaintance, nor should we be intimidated

by his bold, aggressive tactics in business or his positive, decisive statements. Furthermore, despite his seeming frankness, we can never be sure that we know him because we can never be sure that he knows himself. (See introvert's comment, page 164.)

In our casual dealings with extraverts in social or business affairs the rule is never *elude*; with introverts never *intrude*. Extraverts are suspicious of any sort of indirection, aloofness or lack of frankness, and we know that introverts are sensitive to any suggestion of intrusion into their private affairs.

Because an extravert naturally forms rapport and does not hesitate to answer questions or to express opinions, he is willing to discuss his affairs with almost anyone whose intentions he considers honorable. Indeed we know that the extravert is rather flattered than dismayed by well-meant inquiries into his tastes and habits and by requests for expressions of his opinions or feelings on almost any topic. Any resentment that he may show toward polite inquiries generally indicates either that he has something to conceal or that he suspects the inquirer of some unfriendly purpose, and his persistent refusal to talk indicates that something is seriously wrong.

This rule does not apply to the introvert, as we know. Dealing tactfully with him depends upon the principles with which the reader is already familiar. If he shows the least disinclination to talk, the least sign of retreating behind his wall, we must not press him but must prove to him that he has nothing to fear. Although it is permissible to be as frank as you like with an introvert about yourself or anyone else, you must not expect him to be frank with you about his personal life. Even such a form of self-

expression as answering a questionnaire is too much for some introverts.

An extreme example of this was the experience of a friend who is secretary to a woman eminent in the arts. The editors of "Who's Who," wishing to add her name to their directory of notables, submitted their questionnaire. The secretary, pleased that her employer had earned this distinction, laid the blank on the artist's writing table. To her dismay she found it in the same place next day with only the first two or three spaces filled in, and a notation, "These people ask too many questions, don't bother with them," attached. Perhaps I should add that the artist is a person of blameless life who could have had no motive for concealing the facts of her career, except for her dislike of publishing personal data. Perhaps few introverts would sacrifice a place in "Who's Who" because of their distaste for answering personal questions but no introvert welcomes these questions.

We know that the introvert's power psychology makes him resent any form of pressure, any attempt to influence him. Also, although an introvert business man values his time and appreciates dispatch in the conduct of affairs, he resents being hurried or pushed in any way. Deliberate about expressing himself, he dislikes being pressed for opinions or decisions but is favorably disposed toward people who give him time to think things over before committing himself. His desire always to act on his own initiative makes him ill-disposed toward all forms of managing.

I know an insurance agent who lost a valuable opportunity because he was unacquainted with this introvert trait. His prospect was a middle-aged introvert who had

long considered the purchase of life insurance. He and his wife had often discussed the matter and had even decided on the amount of the policy when the insurance agent, who lived in the neighborhood, heard of their interest and promptly called at their home.

Having considered the matter so fully, the husband was willing to talk with the agent who eagerly supplied all the necessary information. The introvert then asked for time to think over details of the policy, agreeing to notify the agent when he was ready to sign.

A week later the husband told his wife that he had decided to sign the agreement and that he would notify the agent within a day or two; whereupon the agent, impatient to conclude the business, made the mistake of calling in person at the husband's office to press him for a decision. The husband was so incensed at this intrusion that he not only refused to see the agent but declined to have any further dealings with him. Afterward he took out a policy with another company.

This is an extreme case and perhaps uncommon, but it illustrates the introvert's native resistance to any form of personal pressure. It is an example of the sort of reaction which has given the introvert the reputation of being contrary. Nothing makes an introvert so stubborn and contrary as an attempt to exert pressure on him, to manage or influence him in any way.

We already know that introverts are not necessarily more resentful of personal criticism than extraverts are. Indeed it is only the rarely "altertensive" person of either type who is able sincerely to welcome honest criticism or any plain talk of his shortcomings. But a salient point of difference between introverts and extraverts is the fact

that introverts are inclined to resent any sort of personal allusion, even the most flattering, from or in the presence of unincorporated people. This is their great point of difference from extraverts who resent criticism but relish compliments from everybody. Except under unusual circumstances, introverts writhe under compliments as well as under any other distinctly personal comment. Even if you know an introvert well, never compliment him before strangers and if you dare to compliment him when you two are alone, do it in a subtle way. Although the introvert may crave your admiration and esteem, he does not wish you to publish them.

That is why the introvert recoils from frank compliments. If you would pay a compliment to an ambassador or a lovely woman introvert, never make the mistake of doing so in a direct and outspoken manner. It takes great finesse to penetrate the introvert's wall of reserve and a compliment should be no more than a hint. Any other sort of compliment from strangers or casual acquaintances comes as a shock, however truly the introvert appreciates your general attitude of respect and admiration.

Yet the extravert relishes frank compliments. Provided only that you are sincere, you may hang a glittering compliment around his neck at any time and in any company. With the introvert it is necessary to wrap your compliment carefully and, when no one is looking, drop it at his feet and walk quickly away.

It is only natural that the introvert's reluctance to make casual contacts and to express himself freely to strangers should complicate his relations with the public and the press. Of course even an introvert can learn to deal effectively with news reporters, to show them cooperation

and cordiality as a matter of policy. Nevertheless a naive introvert, suddenly thrust into contact with the press, is more likely to come off badly than an equally inexperienced extravert.

A famous athlete was once on rather bad terms with newspaper men because of his typical introvert attitude; he resented their incessant invasion of his privacy. At times the reporters' questions, the demands of photographers, the fact that he was not permitted the privacy which he believed to be a man's natural right, caused the young athlete to show considerable antagonism to those who harried him in pursuit of news. Although it is an obvious duty of famous people to cooperate with those whose living depends upon their ability to report news, it is equally obvious that journalists need some understanding of the types of human nature, an understanding which would enable them to deal with people who appear to be introverts in a manner more likely to enlist cooperation than to arouse antagonism. Introverts are not averse to favorable publicity: they are aware of its value no less than extraverts are. It is only the manner in which reporters use them which may arouse antagonism.

On the whole, extraverts have a natural "give and take" with strangers which, provided only that they have nothing to conceal, makes their relations with the press and the public relatively uncomplicated. Few extraverts are embarrassed by demands for autographs, photographs or impromptu interviews. They may or may not make favorable impressions or form agreeable relations with newspaper men and women, but in general they do not find these contacts trying and for that reason appear to better advantage than any but experienced or unusually gifted

introverts. Extraverts come by their ability naturally, whereas introverts have to learn to respond graciously to brash reporters and enthusiastic admirers. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the former baseball star Babe Ruth are outstanding examples of gracious and cooperative public idols.

An odd side light on the introvert's relation to strangers is his tendency to address his social inferiors when he is forced to make inquiries or request help. An introvert, especially one who suffers from the feeling of inferiority, is disinclined to ask directions of anybody and frequently travels far in the wrong direction rather than make inquiries which would put him right. However if he does ask to be directed, he is likely to accost a laborer or servant rather than a well-dressed person. Perhaps this is because the humble person seems less likely to take advantage of the occasion for personal contact.

A word about the self-confidence of introverts and extraverts. Introverts often appear to lack self-confidence in dealing with people because they hesitate to put themselves forward. Extraverts, on the contrary, often appear too bold and cocksure. Even extraverts who have an inferiority feeling seldom show it. Indeed they often assume an over-confident, even a superior attitude as a compensation for inner doubt. But introverts sometimes appear less confident than they really are.

People who are well balanced and emotionally mature are not likely to appear either over- or under-confident. But it is well to know, especially when dealing with young people, that the introvert is the one who needs to be encouraged, to be given confidence in his dealings with others, while the extravert often needs to be shown the

dangers of over-confidence. The extravert needs especially to learn the pitfalls of snap judgments, exaggerated statements and the tendency to rush headlong into unknown situations. He needs to be shown the dangers of over precipitance and overboldness.

The introvert who seems to lack self-confidence should never be pushed, and above all never criticized. He should be encouraged by being given a chance to do things which are commensurate with his abilities, in order to prove to himself that he is able to deal successfully with people.

One of the most striking differences between the extravert and introvert points of view is revealed in different attitudes toward confessions. Newspaper reports of accused murderers who, after questioning make complete confession, frequently refer to the relief of the accused after acknowledging his crime. It is hardly necessary to add that people who express this relief are extraverts. Their natural desire to hide their guilt is unequal to the task of leashing the powerful urge to express themselves, to impart the knowledge which burdens their minds. Although fully aware that confession of a serious crime puts them in jeopardy, they express relief when at last the onus of silence is removed. It constitutes a burden which the normal extravert finds almost insupportable.

Those people who steadfastly protest their innocence or stubbornly refuse to talk are, in most cases, introverts. A notorious example was Richard Hauptmann, the man convicted of the kidnapping and murder of the Lindbergh baby. Throughout interminable questioning both in private and during the trial, Hauptmann remained adamant in his denial of all knowledge of the crime. Even the prosecuting attorney seemed to evince grudging admiration for

the man's steadfast denial which withstood the most ingenious verbal assaults. Although Hauptmann was crafty and mentally alert, his emotional stamina during the trial was derived, doubtless, from his tenacious hold on the subjective context which enabled him to break all affective contact with the objective world. Because of his native ability to do this the introvert suffers little temptation to confess. On the contrary, the examination itself serves to rally every resource of self-defense, walling him off even more effectively from external contact and destroying what little relation he is able ordinarily to maintain with unincorporated people.

It is difficult for an extravert to understand that the questions of unincorporated people cannot probe the recesses of the introvert's mind. Of course anyone can be entrapped into damaging admissions if he is not sufficiently alert to elude the snares set for him. But besides avoiding incriminating slips, the extravert must vanquish his natural impulse to talk. The urge to save his skin is a powerful force to seal a man's lips, but only the exceptional extravert can long maintain silence against skillful questioning, for his is the double task of eluding not only the mental traps set by his inquisitors, but of defeating his own emotional urge to maintain rapport and to discharge the burden of his mind. Because the introvert has a strong contrary urge, it is almost impossible for strangers to obtain a confession from him. When an introvert voluntarily confesses a serious misdeed, it is to an incorporated person.

This ability to resist the external world by retreating behind his psychological wall serves the introvert in many ways. It takes the form of that self-obliteration in social contacts already mentioned, also the dreamy aloofness

which mothers and teachers find exasperating in school children. Another form is that of the complaisance and apparent attention which some introvert husbands give to a certain form of lecture by their wives. Although the husband's manner may be unexceptionable in that he pays apparent polite attention, he may remain mentally and emotionally impervious to the discourse. Doubtless this ability to remain physically present although mentally absent is a great convenience not only in domestic crises but in the presence of bores of every stripe. An extravert who cannot bear to face the social music is obliged to get out of earshot of it. But an introvert has less need to take this trouble; he is able, by the simple expedient of increasing his subjective volume, to drown the music out.

For this reason, despite his greater sensitivity to those experiences which he permits to pass his subjective barricade, the introvert enjoys a certain immunity to unpleasant external events, as well as a certain independence of unincorporated people who grate on his sensibilities or try his patience.

For instance, a husband who must suffer the presence in his home of obnoxious relatives-in-law would be better able to support the strain if he were introverted than if he were extraverted. Although the presence of unincorporated people at such close range is a threat to his inner life and a trial to his soul, the introvert is able to protect himself against them by retreating behind his wall.

But because he lacks a subjective retreat (he has it but is not aware of it) the extravert is obliged to endure an enforced rapport with people who are distasteful to him. The result is that, torn between his tendency toward rapport and his dissatisfaction with the people to whom it

leads him, he is likely to suffer severe nervous strain. The introvert carries a place of refuge within his own psyche but the extravert's only refuge is in a change of scene.

It is this introvert trick of dis severing himself from personal contact with the external world which so baffles, disconcerts and sometimes enrages extraverts. The extravert is able to deal with any sort of active antagonism, with a quarrel or a fight, but the introvert's invincible aloofness, his knack of obliterating himself beneath an impenetrable crust of silence and indifference seem to extraverts almost diabolical. Yet it is simply one way, one perfectly natural way of dealing with the irritations that vex the spirit. The introvert can be driven to flight, to fight or to fury but only when his primitive emotions are aroused. His usual form of self-defense is to barricade himself in his subjective sanctum where he is relatively secure from verbal assaults.

When an extravert is downcast or depressed over a minor matter it is a kindness for anyone, stranger or friend, to try to divert his mind from his troubles. A good joke, a good dinner, gay company can cheer an extravert through his attachment to external events. But it is a great mistake for acquaintances to try to cheer an introvert, and the worst form of this mistake is to advise him to brace up, that what he needs is to "get his mind off himself."

When an introvert is downcast for any reason, only one he loves can cheer him and seldom even he can. However I know of an introvert girl who, when she is feeling depressed or slightly ill goes into her room, closes the door and lies down on a couch with her face to the wall. Although she refuses to talk to anyone, paying no attention even when her mother enters, her younger sister is

sometimes able to charm her from gloom. This is because the sister is something of a mimic and the humorous characters she imitates are like old friends of the elder sister. Often by making an appeal in the character of the Irish washerwoman the younger girl is able to rouse her sister from apathy, make her laugh and help to banish the mood. Through some humorous or whimsical taste it is sometimes possible to cheer an introvert; but the ordinary talk, laughter or lighthearted optimism of unincorporated people cannot cheer him because it does not penetrate to his subjective domain.

Usually in any predicament in which his patience is tried, his courage tested, or his nerves nettled the introvert needs to be let alone, to be excused from rapport especially with strangers, while the extravert needs concrete assurance of sympathy and cooperation.

If an introvert falls seasick on a yachting party, do not call attention to his plight by offering sympathy and a towel; look the other way and act as if you were not only unaware of the state of his health but the fact of his presence. An extravert in the same condition needs overt sympathy. Make every provision for his comfort before you leave him in the privacy which his condition indicates. Generally speaking, an extravert in this embarrassing state needs to be assured that the rapport between you is not jeopardized by the fact that he is a poor sailor: but an introvert longs to be treated as if he were invisible. I know an introvert girl who enjoys sailing but is subject to occasional seasickness. She undergoes agonies of embarrassment if anyone calls attention to her state by solicitous inquiries or suggestions but is grateful to those who diligently ignore her misfortune.

Nevertheless in genuine distress, mental or physical, the introvert needs the presence (not the active, bustling solicitude, but the discreet presence) of a beloved intimate, his wife, his mother or a near friend. Independent as he is of rapport continuously demonstrated, the introvert is dependent subjectively upon the loved person; but even the loved person should keep his distance. The introvert may not resent being fussed over when there is nothing the matter with him but he needs more discreet care in serious situations. At such times even the beloved intimate should not lavish sympathy upon the introvert or make his ministrations obtrusive. Especially must he never demand any response or expect any expression of appreciation. The introvert may be appreciative but because he is caught in his subjective net he cannot say so. Incorporation is the only medicine of his distress and he must be free of all obligations in order that the medicine may take effect.

Yet it is a great mistake to believe that introverts want always to be alone, that they want to live like hermits. Although introverts need to be alone occasionally, no normal person wants to live a life of solitude. It is true that introverts prefer solitude to the company of people who mean nothing to them, and the introvert's tendency to avoid those people often leads to the incorrect assumption that he wants to be alone. However much the introvert desires to be free of irksome contacts and however reserved he may be in what to him are meaningless social encounters, he is in some ways even more dependent on the presence of those he loves than extraverts are. For the extravert who is separated from loved ones always can find others to slake his thirst for rapport. But because he is less satisfied with casual contacts, perhaps the introvert

is correspondingly more dependent on tried and true friends.

As for wishing to travel alone or to go to places of amusement unaccompanied, the introvert seems less likely to do so than the extravert. Indeed introverts are often somewhat timid about visiting strange places without a friend. Probably because of their facility for making casual acquaintances wherever they go, extraverts are better able to travel and to amuse themselves alone, however much they might prefer a chosen companion.

We know that the more seriously the extravert is affected by sorrow or apprehension the more he is dependent on rapport. An interesting example of this was the experience of an extravert woman who was staying alone in a foreign city where she had no intimate friends. Suddenly one day she discovered a tumor on the breast. Consulting a physician she learned that the tumor might be malignant, and that it would be necessary to wait two or three days before certain diagnosis could be made. Well aware that her life was threatened in case the diagnosis should be cancer, the woman was under extreme mental tension during the days of waiting.

Although ordinarily she was quite independent, going about alone and because of studious habits engaging only rarely in social life, under the stress of her anxiety she suddenly found it impossible to be alone. She could gain relief from fear and worry only in company, especially the company of people who were willing to discuss her own or similar problems. Even to fellow-guests in her hotel whom she had formerly found uncongenial, she was most communicative and almost pathetically grateful for sympathy and interest. Indeed she seemed to become sud-

denly dependent on them for comfort. Yet their sympathy was entirely incidental sympathy; these casual acquaintances with whom she had previously exchanged little more than formal greetings bore no personal relationship to her. Nevertheless in this crisis she depended on them as if they had been her lifelong friends, finding their company indispensable. Anyone can help an extravert in distress.

In a similar situation we know that an introvert would have found contact with casual acquaintances almost intolerable. Far from discussing her affliction with them she would have been careful to conceal it. If by chance it had become known, the introvert might have sought to escape those expressions of sympathy and kindly interest which the extravert found not only welcome but indispensable.

Knowledge of the type differences is useful to parents. The parents of an extraverted child should remember his great need to speak freely. Especially when he is in distress, they should never discourage expression, never hush the hurt or frightened child with the dreadful words: "But we don't talk about such things, we keep them to ourselves." The extravert child should never be forced to withhold honest expression. Obviously mere talk for the sake of annoying others or attracting attention should be discouraged. But parents soon learn to distinguish between the smart alec mood and the child's sincere desire to communicate with them. The introvert child, on the other hand, should not be pressed to talk when he seems to be under emotional stress. In either case, the parent should seek to understand the child's psychological attitude and to accept him for what he is.

In general, we should bear in mind that the introvert

can be comforted and helped only by people whose sympathy is rooted in a context of relationship, that is people whom the child has incorporated. For all his apparent unresponsiveness when he is in distress, the introvert child is more dependent upon his loved ones than is the extravert. Although he cannot maintain overt contact with them, the introvert is genuinely thankful for the presence of loved ones and genuinely in need of that presence, for no one else can take their place.

It is necessary in all our dealing to remember that the temperamental scale of introverts is different from that of extraverts, that the extravert's mood swings between grave and gay, happy and sorrowful, while the introvert's moves between zeal and apathy, between intense interest and blank indifference.

A young extravert, Miss E., had always been extremely close to her introvert sister until the latter's marriage. Then for a period of six years they rarely saw each other. After a most unhappy married life, this Mrs. I. obtained a divorce and at the end of the proceedings accepted her sister's invitation to pay her a month's visit.

Miss E. found her beloved sister greatly changed. Formerly they had confided in each other and had been what Miss E. described as very close. However, after her unhappy experience Mrs. I. seemed to be in a state of apathy in which nothing interested her, not even her beloved sister. In discussing the matter, Miss E. expressed her disappointment at the lack of interest which her sister showed in plans for her entertainment.

"I did my best to please her," said Miss E., somewhat wistfully, "but she seemed so distant, as if engrossed in her own thoughts most of the time. Of course I expected her

to confide in me; she knows how interested I am in everything that concerns her. But she hardly mentioned what she had been through and seemed to have lost interest in everything. I tried all sorts of things to interest her, but nothing seemed to please her. Finally, knowing how fond she is of good things to eat, I planned and cooked a really fine dinner of all her favorite dishes. The main attraction was a planked steak cooked exactly to her taste. I really went to a great deal of trouble about that dinner and the others present seemed to think it was one of the best they ever ate. But my sister did not even comment on it although she knew I'd planned it especially for her. I couldn't resist asking her how she liked it and she replied that it was 'very good'; no enthusiasm at all, just 'very good.' After that," concluded Miss E. ruefully, "I saw that there was no use trying to please her, so when she suggested leaving a few days before the month was up, I made no effort to detain her. I really feel sad about the whole thing, especially because she didn't enjoy her visit although I did everything I could to make it pleasant for her."

Miss E. was really hurt by her sister's attitude which she mistook for indifference toward herself, interpreting it as a change in her sister's feeling for her. Furthermore she believed that her sister was unappreciative of efforts to please, as well as wanting in feeling and affection. If Mrs. I. had been an extravert her sister's solicitude would have made her grateful, even to some extent, happy. She would have enjoyed the special dinner as much as ever and would have expressed her appreciation. Probably when she left, her sister would have felt that the bond of affection between them had been strengthened rather

than weakened by misfortune. But the introvert's apathy may baffle and offend even those who love him best, because they believe it to be directed against themselves, whereas it may have nothing to do with objective relations.

Meanwhile let me remind the reader of one of the strange paradoxes of human nature. This is that despite the opposition in the viewpoints of extraverts and introverts which engenders so great a motley of misunderstandings, the opposite types sometimes find in each other an overwhelming fascination. This is true especially when the opposite types are of opposite sex.

Obviously this has little connection with the judgments which each type passes on the other. Indeed the force of attraction is sufficiently compelling to overcome the native antagonisms which, under certain conditions, inevitably compromise understanding, strain tolerance and threaten mutual good-will. There must be, then, some fundamental attraction between the opposite types similar to that between the sexes, which despite all obstacles exerts an irresistible fascination.

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CHAPTER 12

RELATIONSHIPS: MARRIAGE

One of Jung's most interesting contributions to our knowledge of human nature is his discovery that genuine love relationships are based on polarity of psychological type as well as that of sex. Whatever strictly personal requirements must supplement it, and they are many, type polarity is essential to the dynamics of a successful love relationship. Without it, sincere and lasting mutual attraction seem to be impossible. Although infatuations based chiefly on physical attraction undoubtedly occur between people of the same type, it is the rule that extraverts do not fall seriously in love with other extraverts or introverts with other introverts. Extraverts fall in love with introverts and marry introverts. Love is not a static but an energetic phenomenon, a living force which works through sexual polarity on the physical plane, through psychological polarity on the mental.

It appears that men and women have needs which impel them to seek in the love companion, complements rather than duplicates of themselves. Thus because each supplies what the other wants, in permanent relations based on mutual attraction, introverts seek extravert mates. Ordinary friendship which thrives on congeniality of tastes and interests but involves no emotional attraction seems to bear no relation to version type. It is only for serious love relations, relations which are the result of genuine

psychological as well as biological attraction, that polarity of type is an indispensable requisite.

It is as if each lover sought in his beloved the dimension of personality which he lacked, to the end that while as a single person he lived in two psychological dimensions only, being deprived of the third, in marriage he begins to live in all three. This is because his partner, supplying depth to his breadth, or breadth to his depth, compensates for his lack and makes good his defects. Each partner is for the other a balance and counterpoise. Each is the other's counterpart, the other half of himself. For in normal human beings mating is as much mental as physical.

The adage "opposites attract" is manifestly absurd applied to opposites in education, cultural background, tastes or interests. As a rule men marry women of similar culture, with similar tastes and interests. An investigation has shown that husbands and wives resemble each other in height, weight, intelligence, socio-economic status, indeed in every characteristic studied.²⁵ But the point at which opposites attract as a magnet attracts iron filings is that of psychological type. At first thought we might suppose that an introvert man would love an introvert woman, yet all evidence is to the contrary. In those rare instances in which an extravert man marries an extravert woman, either that marriage was one of convenience rather than inclination or at least one partner was past middle age. In love marriages between young people, extravert men marry introvert women and introverts choose extraverted wives. Every rule is said to have exceptions but my, necessarily limited, experience has provided none. Although frequently on first meeting a married couple I take them to be the same psychological type, invariably

after longer acquaintance I discover that I was mistaken. Later I shall discuss some of the most common reasons for such mistakes.

Because the partners adapt cooperatively, marriage may be viewed as a psychological symbiosis (living together) or synergism (working together) to which each partner makes his specialized contribution. For in normal unions the spouses function not as discrete entities, but as parts of a system. This should involve no violation of individuality; rather there are mutual advantages which enhance the efficiency and promote the well-being of both partners. One obvious advantage is that the two are able to pool their talents so that, as a couple, they dispose of a repertory of adjustment greater than either could command alone. Thus not only do men and women complement each other physically but psychologically as well, whether we view marriage from the social standpoint or from that of the individual.

The above might be illustrated by saying that people of opposite type and sex, who are otherwise congenial, affect each other like bodies having opposite electrical charges. Or to alter the simile, that temperamental opposites, reacting in the manner of opposite magnetic poles, combine to form an integrated whole, a field which includes both the pole of expression-rapport and that of impression-incorporation. If both partners were introverts there would be absent that initiative in rapport, that freedom of demonstration which are indispensable in love relationships. On the other hand if both partners were extraverts, the outgoing currents of expression-rapport might clash and conflict, resulting in emotional repulsion. This effect may be unimportant in ordinary relations

between friends, brothers and sisters or even parents and children. But in associations where the partners live in the most intimate emotional contact, it seems likely that a certain degree of nervous tension might develop. This would become at length exhausting however agreeable the association might be in other respects.

Although it is hardly possible to secure scientific proof ²⁶ of the foregoing, a hypothesis of similar nature seems necessary to account for the rule of attraction of opposite types in opposite sex, a rule which applies universally despite the strain placed upon that attraction by the misunderstandings which inevitably arise out of the contrasting points of view.

We must realize that because life represents evolution, the evolutionary trend expresses itself on psychological as well as physical levels. Normal men and women seek not only in love but in every realm of being, complete self-fulfillment. This is readily apparent in the child whose growing body and mind, fulfilling the urge to develop, impel him to engage in every activity which contributes to that growth and furthers that development. Hence the child's tireless play, his restless action, his insatiable curiosity.

In adults the evolutionary principle seems to shift to the psychological and what we might call the spiritual plane. It leads most normal people to seek moral and emotional maturity which have to do with the development of "altertendency." Accordingly the love choice, in so far as it is an honest choice, seems to have in addition to its biological aim and that of cooperative adaptation to the environment, another, an individual aim. This might be called the moral or spiritual evolution of the individ-

ual. By that is meant the evolution of what has been called the higher self which may be described as evolution out of egocentrism to increasing altertendency. It is reasonable to suppose that the nature of every normal person is to develop in this manner; that only through misfortune has that development been arrested in some people.

Probably everyone, man or woman, extravert or introvert, would agree that he seeks in his love relationship complete community with the beloved, perfect affection and companionship. Of this desire for the ideal relationship every normal human being is more or less conscious, just as he is more or less conscious of his desire for a strong and healthy body. But few people are conscious of the fact that everyone seeks self-completion and psychological development too, that the fulfillment of every normal desire, including the desire for love and the relation with the loved one, may contribute to this development.

Although extraverts and introverts have the same fundamental desire for a love relationship, their different points of view incline them toward different interpretations of that relationship, just as a country man and a city man, both of whom desire a comfortable home, hold different opinions of what constitutes a comfortable home, based on their different habits and requirements.

Before considering the introvert and extravert interpretation of love relations, let us glance at the effect which each has on the other in the field of mutual attraction.

The effect of a sympathetic and congenial extravert on an introvert of opposite sex is sometimes remarkable, transforming a reserved and laconic person, often even on short acquaintance, into a responsive one who talks freely

when the two are alone, even, upon extraordinary provocation, about himself. It must not be supposed that every extravert has this effect on every introvert: it is only those extraverts whose individual as distinct from their purely typical characteristics earn them special favor. For only a particularly acceptable and congenial extravert so affects an introvert of opposite sex. Throughout the following discussion of the effect of extraverts and introverts on each other, the reader should bear in mind that polarity of type provides only the indispensable framework but no more than that, for deep and lasting mutual attraction. The type framework must be clothed with suitable individual characteristics which include congeniality of tastes, similarity in culture and the innumerable personal qualities which draw people into permanent association.

However, the fact that only an extravert has the gift of free self-expression and the talent for rapport causes the introvert woman to respond to him in a way in which she could not respond to an introvert man. For the introvert needs to be drawn out or drawn into a relationship by someone with a gift for rapport, someone who is able freely and easily to establish personal contact. Anyone, even an extravert, who is unsympathetic or repellent in any way, or anyone who attempts to force or coerce the introvert meets resistance, not response. Nevertheless it is a suitable and sympathetic extravert who is able, because of his own gift for rapport, to elicit personal responses from an introvert and thus to establish with her a genuine love partnership.

Doubtless it is the extravert's initial expressiveness which, interacting with the introvert's ability to experi-

ence intense impressions, sets up a circuit of attraction between two people of opposite sex. This is so even when the introvert is the one, as often happens, who makes the first advances. For instance, an introvert man, admiring a young woman on a transcontinental train, seated himself beside her in the observation car and gravely, in a somewhat formal manner, offered her part of his newspaper. Her warm response indicated that she was an extravert and it was she who set in motion their subsequent acquaintance. Nevertheless, as is often the case, it was the introvert who actually made the first advance.

An interesting point in this connection is illustrated by the incident (Chapter 8) of the introvert woman who remembers that once in her life, as a young girl, she revealed an important personal secret to a stranger, her admirer on a transatlantic liner. Obviously there must have been something in the man's personality which impressed her so deeply that she was able to overcome her natural reserve sufficiently to express herself about an important personal matter.

She was kind enough to tell me everything she remembers about this man. She feels sure that he was an extravert because he volunteered the entire story of his life, including the most intimate revelations of his thoughts and feelings, soon after meeting her. She believes that it was chiefly his freedom in revealing himself which emboldened her to confide her own important experience.

The interesting feature of this episode is that it illustrates the fact that it was an extravert of opposite sex (undoubtedly a man of unusual personal qualifications in addition to his type) who had the power to stimulate the introvert to reveal herself. The effect on an introvert

of a sympathetic extravert, especially one of opposite sex, seems to be first disarming, and secondly stimulating. That is, the sympathetic extravert such as the personable young man whom my friend met in her girlhood, caused her first of all to lower her customary barrier of reserve because she felt that it was unnecessary with him, and secondly he drew her out by his gift for rapport so that she felt free to talk of matters, even personal matters, which she usually guarded. An acceptable extravert of opposite sex appears less formidable than other strangers, giving the introvert courage to make a freer personal contact than is his wont. The acceptable extravert not only offers confidences but invites them.

The extravert's contribution to the love relation is rapport and his ideal of perfect love is complete rapport. He expects the relationship to develop through a progressively more extensive rapport with the beloved. That is, he wishes to expand the sphere of their common objective experience. To him an important personal relationship involves progress in overt sharing, the sharing of activities, interests and expressed thoughts. It involves making himself more and more a part of his beloved's life so that more and more threads of rapport are bound into a single ever-increasing strand.

The introvert's ideal of a relationship holds a different emphasis. Although he too seeks a complete sharing of life, it is a subjective sharing of thought and the inner life rather than a sharing of overt activities. Whereas the extravert seeks always to make himself more and more a part of his beloved's objective life, the introvert seeks to make his beloved more and more a part of his subjective life.

It is difficult for extraverts to comprehend the intensity of incorporation which marks the progress of a love relationship in an introvert. The extravert is forever trying to get outside his own psychological skin in order to realize the fullness of rapport with his beloved, therefore he conceives of love chiefly in terms of expression and rapport. But the introvert conceives of love as an inward reality quite apart from and indeed superior to that which is expressed.

As is the case with his real friends, the introvert shows his love most clearly by being himself most freely in the presence of his beloved; by opening to her the gates of his soul and bidding her enter. Thus he allows her to influence him profoundly in the depths of his sensitive inner being. With the introvert the progress of a love relationship is predominantly an inward progress. Instead of becoming as one with his beloved overtly which is the extravert's ideal, the introvert longs to become as one with the beloved inwardly. He longs to reach her inner spirit and to make it a part of his own. Not only may this inner community find little or no direct outward expression, although if the need arose it might inspire the introvert to great acts of self-sacrifice, but overt demonstration often seems to him superfluous. The introvert proves his love and devotion by his whole attitude, but he often falls short in maintaining the appropriate gestures of response which are outward signs of love.

A complete love relation requires both outward expressions of affection and the corresponding inward impressions which, obviously, only partners of opposite type are able to supply. The extravert creates the greater outward effect on the marriage because he carries the load of rap-

port. But the introvert sustains the greater inward effect because he carries the load of incorporation. The love relation means as much to one type as to the other. Perhaps fundamentally it means the same to one as to the other but that meaning attaches to different contexts.

Of course the relation between marriage partners includes many matters which cannot be included in a discussion which is confined to a single aspect of human relations. But to the introvert a complete relationship means the acme of incorporation; to the extravert it means the acme of rapport. Both types are susceptible to the transformation of a great love. That transformation is chiefly an outer transformation with one type, an inner with the other. Thus between people of opposite type who love each other there develops a balanced relationship, a true mental mating.

Because the introvert's relation to his love is intensive rather than extensive, he does not feel that it is necessary that his wife share all his activities or he all hers, so long as her subjective life centers in him. He wants her to live primarily for him, to accept him entirely, to have no deeper interest than her interest in him. His interest and concern for her are so intense that he longs to shut her up, figuratively speaking, in the enclave of his inner life so that she lives within it for him alone. Although this might suggest that an introvert would make the sort of husband who tries to curtail his wife's liberties, as a matter of fact the introvert may allow her every overt form of freedom. It is in the subjective realm that he wishes her complete allegiance; it is the subjective side of the relationship which he wishes to dominate and to guard from all alien influence.

Indeed the extravert often seems to interfere more in the life of his spouse because of his continuous reaching out for overt rapport. It is the extravert who continuously tries to lead his spouse to share his interests and enthusiasms, who seems to be always eager to draw her further into his concerns. Thus the extravert may seem to make greater demands on a spouse than does the introvert, because the former's demands must be satisfied by overt tokens. For example, an extravert husband may take a keen interest in archery or economics. If he loves his wife he will want her to share his interests and will try to induce her to take an active part in them.

On the other hand an introvert husband, taking up the practice of archery or the study of economics, may not feel any particular urge to share these interests with his wife. Unless she herself evinces an interest, he can carry on his pursuits without her. Not that he does not wish to spend his time with her and to live in community with her, but he can spend his time reading economics while she is reading something else or practicing archery while she is gardening, and be perfectly content with her presence alone. The very fact that she is there beside him gives him satisfaction and a consciousness of his relationship to her.

It is the extravert who wishes his wife to prove her affection by active participation in his own affairs. For him, his wife's presence in sympathetic parallel activity is not sufficient; he needs an overt sharing of the specific interest which engages him. He needs to extend his rapport with her to include every detail of their lives, while the introvert is content with his wife's basic, consistent attitude toward him which, far more important than any

outward thing, makes or mars the relationship in so far as he is concerned.

Because the introvert is subjectively dependent on his loved ones, he is less dependent than the extravert upon continuously demonstrated affection. He does not need to be continuously talking with, working with, expressing an overt interest in those he loves as the extravert does. The extravert needs and values these active demonstrations because to him they are the substance of a relationship. But the introvert, bound to his beloved by subjective rather than objective ties, is more or less independent of the latter, a condition which baffles the extravert, sometimes causing him to feel that the introvert does not truly love him or that the introvert is eccentric or coldhearted. For it is difficult for extraverts to understand that introverts can find contentment in the inner impression on which they feed their attachment, sometimes with little or no overt relation at all. This applies even to casual personal interests.

I have an introvert friend who once lived on a busy corner in New York City where the same traffic officer presided for several years. She said that seeing him several times a day for so long a period caused her to take a real interest in him and to form a warm attachment for him. Through a friend, she heard that he had a crippled daughter to whom he was devoted and this fact made her feel an even keener interest in the man. She found herself thinking of him as one of her own friends, and indeed he became a definite part of her daily life. An extravert who felt this way about a familiar neighborhood figure would have gone up and spoken to him, perhaps become friendly with him. But for all her kindly interest, my

friend never so much as bowed to the man in all the years she lived there. Once after she had moved away from the city, she returned for a visit and took the trouble to go to the corner for the express purpose of seeing her old "friend." But to her disappointment he was no longer there and another directed traffic in his place. She said that she felt the most poignant regret at not seeing him, although if she had seen him she would have passed him by without a sign as was her habit.

Another instance is that of a young man who seems to have formed a subjective bond with another man, a neighbor in his suburban community. This particular Mr. Inn has seen his neighbor pass his house for a period of a year and a half and in that time has formed a warm attachment for him. Although he knows the man's name and something of his life, Mr. Inn has never exchanged more than a formal greeting with him. Nevertheless to his wife he speaks of his neighbor by his first name, remarking if he sees him pass the house, "There goes good old George on his way to play tennis. He's a man after my own heart."

Occasionally, on seeing him, Mr. Inn will say only, "There goes my friend," but there is unmistakable warmth in his words. Yet on the rare occasions when he meets his neighbor face to face, Mr. Inn never dreams of saying anything more than a cool "Good morning" nor has he ever made the slightest effort to become better acquainted, although he has every opportunity.

The relationship, if one could call it that, is purely subjective; it feeds on the strong impression which Mr. Inn draws from his neighbor. There seems to be no desire, as there would be in an extravert, to make a corresponding

impression on the friend or to establish any overt relationship. Mr. Inn appears quite content to allow his friend to remain unconscious of his (Mr. Inn's) admiration and good will, keeping the "friendship" to himself. To an extravert it is incomprehensible that anyone could admire a neighbor so much without making the least effort to become acquainted. Although I have no way of knowing how common these situations may be, I call attention to the tendency in order to illustrate the introvert's characteristic independence of overt contact and his ability to incorporate a person because of some peculiar appeal, independent of outward expression or rapport. The introvert's independence of overt contact applies even to his relations with loved intimates especially, as we know, at times of stress or sorrow.

Another difference in relationships is the different reaction of the types to love disappointments. An extravert whose wife, husband or sweetheart proves false is greatly grieved as he would be grieved by any other grave disappointment. But usually by throwing himself into new interests and forming new relationships he is able, gradually, to rid himself of the effect of his sorrow. Although this takes time, once he has succeeded in doing so he is consciously freed of the effect of the experience. With the injured extravert it is a matter of loving or not loving, that is of putting the loved one out of his heart and finding solace in another love or in another interest.

But with the injured introvert it is less a case of loving or not, than a case of loving or hating. If his affection is seriously engaged he loves intensely and can hate just as intensely. The extravert, equally sincere in love, is less sensitive to the inner effect of his feeling; therefore he

loves less intensely but hates less intensely. Extraverts can hate too, but owing to their less intense nature they are less prone to hate those whom they formerly loved. (The more alternative a person is, regardless of type, the less he hates.)

The introvert who loves deeply is caught in a sort of subjective trap. His beloved is not only in a context of overt relationship; his beloved is in him. Therefore he cannot rid himself of her by putting himself into a different setting and establishing different rapport relationships as an extravert can: with the introvert, ruined love turns to venom and poisons his life. Such an introvert is likely to become either a heartless Don Juan or an embittered woman hater.

To return to the mutual effect of the contrasting types in marriage—although a woman of opposite type has won his love, many a husband, finding his wife so different from himself, tries to alter her personality to suit his own specifications, as many a wife tries to alter her husband. This is partly because, attractive as we find the opposite type, the fact that they persist in seeing so many things from the opposite point of view and acting accordingly, complicates the problem of living with them. Furthermore, despite the fact that the traits of the opposite type appeal to us strongly in some respects and under some conditions, in other respects and under different conditions we may find those same traits irksome, distasteful, even exasperating. There is a third reason for trying to change others to suit ourselves, but for the moment let us consider only the first two.

Perhaps we can discover just what characteristics the introvert finds most pleasing in the man or woman he loves and, after marriage, just what he finds most dis-

pleasing in so far as purely typical characteristics are concerned.

What introverts find most pleasing in extraverts

1. Spontaneous responsiveness to people. A general warmth in personal relations together with buoyancy and animation.
2. Freedom in expressions of joy, satisfaction, appreciation, regret and all personal responses.
3. Wide range of interests which enables extraverts to enter into the spirit of many activities and to meet a wide variety of objective requirements, apparently with ease and confidence.

What introverts find most displeasing in (intimate association with) extraverts

1. An officious, managing, intrusive, jostling tendency which may be expressed in terms of meddling, prying and inability to let others alone. It may take the form of offering gratuitous advice, asking personal questions, demanding an expression of opinions or feelings. Often it seems to indicate a lack of respect for the reticences, the moral and spiritual privacy and independence of others. Such people are too intrusive, too importunate. They fuss over you; often they try to manage you and order your life.
2. They talk too much. They chatter about trivial and obvious things and have a tendency to exaggerate, to overdraw and to go off half-cocked.
3. They lack subjective intensity. This lack may be described also in terms of emotional superficiality (Chapter 9), and will be amplified (page 215). It is the negative

aspect of the extravert's buoyancy and extensivity of interest. The introvert is rarely able to define this, but he is hurt and baffled by this limitation which he comes to recognize sooner or later in extraverts whom he knows most intimately.

A comparison of the characteristics of a beloved extravert which an introvert finds most pleasing, with those which he finds most displeasing, discloses the fact that they are basically the same things viewed in different lights. The extravert characteristics which are pleasing to the introvert might be summed up as expressiveness and buoyancy. When this free expression and buoyancy are acceptable, for instance when the extravert is free in expressing joy or interest or affection toward the introvert at a time when these expressions are welcome, the introvert finds them pleasing. The introvert is also pleased and often proud of the extravert's ready adaptability in social situations, especially when this serves to put the introvert and his own friends at ease and to establish an agreeable social atmosphere.

But if the same characteristics are displayed in situations where the introvert finds them inopportune, he then deems them displeasing. Although he usually welcomes the beloved extravert's expressions of his own emotions and talent for affectionate rapport, at times when the introvert is harassed by worry or anxiety or is under any sort of mental or emotional tension, he finds the same expressions irksome. When he wishes to be let alone he sees the extravert as fussing over him, managing him. Sometimes he accuses a wife or husband of nagging.

Yet the extravert's nagging may be nothing more than his sincere effort to convince the introvert of the latter's

practical needs, his managing nothing more than the extravert's ready response to what he views as practical necessity, his fussing nothing but his effort to perform services which the introvert finds superfluous at the moment. However useful the services may be, viewed objectively as fulfilling practical needs, to the introvert well-meant but ill-timed solicitude is as irritating as salt on a cut.

I have seen a seasick husband rebuff the kindly attentions of a loving wife. I have seen a distraught daughter refuse to respond to her sympathetic mother, ignoring her eager expressions of sympathy. To the extravert such rejections of sympathy and service seem to indicate personal antagonism and in an extravert they would do so. But the seasick husband and the worried daughter were introverts whose misery was aggravated by the untimely attentions of those who loved them but failed to sense their stringent need for freedom from personal contact.

Furthermore if the extravert's ability to respond readily to everyone, even strangers, be applied to people whom the introvert considers unacceptable, he then finds the beloved extravert lacking in taste or perhaps insincere. The introvert is pleased when the extravert is all cordiality to him alone (at times when he desires attention) or to people of whom he approves. But he may be displeased when the extravert shows indiscriminate cordiality and free expressiveness to others. I know an introvert husband who reproved his vivacious extravert wife for her free cordiality to dancing partners, although this same cordiality doubtless had attracted him to her.

In sum, those extravert characteristics which the introvert finds charming, indeed endearing when they match the pattern of his subjective requirements, become the

reverse when they fail to do so. If the introvert had the power to limit the extravert's free expression and buoyancy to those circumstances which the introvert himself dictates, doubtless he would find the loved extravert more consistently appealing.

Now let us consider the extravert's view of an introvert in so far as purely typical traits are concerned.

What extraverts find most pleasing in introverts

1. Their detachment and reserve which makes them not only restful companions but attentive, uncompetitive witnesses of the extravert's self-expression. It also lends weight to the introvert's own expressions, which gain significance as the seeming product of deep consideration.

2. The ability to let others alone, not to intrude, inquire or interfere in the affairs of others (at least not openly).

3. A certain serious intensity which, especially in the opposite sex, suggests emotional depth and strength. Perhaps this last is the basis of that mysterious, indefinable charm which an extravert man finds in a beautiful introvert woman or an extravert woman in a personable introvert man, the strong silent man of romantic fiction.

What extraverts find most displeasing in (intimate association with) introverts

1. Foremost is his habit of retreating behind his wall which enables him to break all contact, to resist all personal overtures and to become inaccessible to all communication beyond the most formal. Often this appears as obstinacy and contrariness, as if the introvert found a perverted satisfaction in keeping others in ignorance of his thoughts, feelings and emotions.

2. A lack of animation. They often seem phlegmatic, indecisive or cheerless.

3. Lack of objective range, that is limitation of interests. The introvert seems to take a real interest in few people and few things. This restriction in range often appears to be mere narrowness or even dullness to the extravert who is impatient with what he may call the introvert's single-track mind.

The reader is right in expecting to find that an analysis of the extravert's idea of the most pleasing and displeasing characteristics of introverts reveals the same principle which underlies the corresponding idea; that the two are the same things, viewed in different light. What extraverts find most pleasing in introverts is what we might call detachment as contrasted with expressiveness, and depth in the sense of intensity.

The extravert finds the introvert's detachment appealing when it acts as a foil for his own self-expressive demonstrations. But it turns distressing when it causes the introvert to retreat into a subjective sanctum from which he debars the extravert. The latter is dismayed, offended or exasperated at the introvert's trick of retreating behind his subjective barricade, to the end that while he is physically present he is psychically absent; while he hears, he remains to all appearance unmoved. It is saddening or maddening to the extravert to be so rebuffed, like having a door slammed in his face. The extravert understands a quarrel or a fight but this baffling silence, this insurmountable wall of reserve which cuts off all overt personal contact, reduces the extravert whose talent and necessity are for overt contact, to impotence. However appealing and emotionally satisfying the extravert may find the introvert's

ways when these do not conflict with his own need for rapport, he finds them offensive when they do.

Because the extravert is so dependably responsive to the objective requirements of a relationship he often feels that he contributes more to it than his marriage partner does. Yet he suffers from a defect no less real than the one which he perceives in introverts, a defect of which he is blissfully unaware. But sooner or later this lack becomes plain to the introvert who loves him, revealing to the latter a side of the extravert's nature as unadaptable and unresponsive as is the extravert side of introverts. This has to do with the emotional superficiality already defined in connection with the extravert's lack of intensity. For the following treatment of the subject I am indebted to a friend who has the rare ability to analyze her impression of this deficiency in members of her own family.

As she explained it, the extravert's typical shortcomings in personal relations may be traced to his limitations in subjective range. In so far as rapport with those he loves is concerned the extravert is all that could be desired. He expresses his love most fluently; he responds to a variety of requirements, slipping easily in and out of a wide range of demonstrations. All these are responses to the stimulus of a definite, overt necessity. They are born of the outward circumstance, the objective aspect of the relationship.

But when the introvert seeks from one he loves a subjective response, something implicit rather than explicit, which resembles an essential emotional or spiritual attitude, the peculiar ineptness of the extravert may be sensed. The latter's very fluency of outward response leads the introvert to expect a similar fluency in the subjective realm, a fluency which the extravert does not command.

It is as if an actor, able to play a number of diversified roles before an audience on a stage with the requisite properties, the whole theatrical display, suddenly found himself unable to play more than a single role when the stage is bare, the lights dimmed, the audience departed.

We may compare the subjective realm with one wherein the concrete properties have been removed to allow for an appreciation of the intangible qualities and essential relationships, as a stage might be stripped in order that the essential beauty of the acting and lines of the play might be emphasized. On this empty stage of the subjective realm where inner impressions and attitudes unattached to the specific and objective are to be appreciated, the extravert is reduced to a single role, that of a dutiful and devoted spouse, for instance. In this respect the extravert is disappointing. But, unless they understand typical differences, most husbands consider this a feminine failing, and most wives a masculine one.

Even so profound a thinker as Henri Bergson * made the statement that sensibility seems to attain less development in woman than in man, adding: "I mean, of course, sensibility in the depths, not agitation at the surface." Although he qualified the statement in a footnote, it seems likely that because he himself was perhaps an introvert, his contacts were chiefly with extravert women. Because he discovered in them a lack of the sort of sensitivity or sensibility (Chapter 9) which is the introvert's especial gift, he assumed, as most introvert men assume, that all women are so lacking.

Again, either may assume that it is a personal weakness.

* "The Two Sources of Morality and Religion" (Henry Holt & Co., publisher), page 36.

For example, if he has made a mistake or committed a misdeed of some sort the introvert will be disappointed if he discovers that his wife's attitude toward him in his predicament is substantially the same attitude of tolerance or charity which she would have for anyone in the same case. He feels that her attitude should be one which she holds for him alone and for no one else, and if he should discover that she feels for him only that charity which she would feel toward anyone, he is hurt. Perhaps he feels that she has failed to understand him. Undoubtedly the word "understanding" used in connection with personal relations has a subtle difference in meaning to the different types.

The extravert expects to be understood by what he says and does, and he assumes that these are the measure of any human being. But the introvert longs for those who love him to understand him less by what he expresses than by what he is inwardly. He feels that nothing he says or does can directly reveal his true nature, which is its own measure and cannot be measured by anything outside itself.

Perhaps it is because of the introvert's idea that the inner nature of a human being is inexpressible, that he never feels that he truly knows anyone or that anyone truly knows him merely as a result of ordinary contact and association. He can be acquainted with a man for years, learn the details of his life, become thoroughly familiar with his affairs and yet feel that he does not really know him. The introvert says: "Know that man? Well I've been associated with him for ten years. I am familiar with his habits and I know a good deal about his past life. But I don't know what he is really, what he is inside." On the contrary the extravert believes that through asso-

ciation he comes to know people's whole life because he accepts behavior as adequate testimony of a man's real nature. For the objective is the sole reality which he acknowledges. And in this lies his most serious limitation.

The extravert's insight into the inner meaning of experience is so meager that he has nothing with which to back up his responsiveness and breadth of interest. Extraverts seem to let you down when you try to get to their inner selves, because in place of a developed inner self they have only a few secondhand ideals, a few stereotyped sentiments and nothing subjective which is genuine, nothing which is distinctly their own.

An introvert friend once said: "Extraverts are introverts: you can never get at their real (i.e., inner) selves." She did not realize that it is because the extravert lacks a real, that is, a developed inner self.

This lack is often indicated by exaggerated expressions of feeling and emotion, sometimes by a vapid sentimentality. These are not individual but are products of the mass mind, products which the individual uses to stuff his own emptiness so as to give it the illusion of fullness. That is why the extravert emphasizes behavior and is so eager for formulas, so pathetically anxious to learn the right word, the right gesture. It is as if he sensed that if he could only express the right thing it would, somehow, make up for his inability to experience that right thing within.

Here is a wife who is devoted to her husband. Her expressions of love, her arrangements for her husband's pleasure, all that bears on rapport are fluent and complete. Furthermore they bear the stamp of her own distinctive personality; they are truly her own. But her inner attitude,

what we might call her subjective appreciation of the relationship is limited and banal, merely a stereotype of what the world deems proper in a wife. In so far as her subjective appreciation of the relation is concerned she is aware only of a conventional, collective attitude toward wifehood in contrast with the highly individual rapport which is her contribution to the relationship.

Yet the extravert cannot understand why anyone should expect more of him. To him an inner attitude could be nothing more than a pale reflection of his sincere expressions and demonstrations. If these latter constitute the reality of himself and the essence of his relationship with others, what more could anyone ask? Indeed, to most extraverts, this whole question of subjective sensitivity seems to amount to little more than a metaphysical figment. The extravert has little patience with attempts to define such vague "imaginary" things, because even after he learns of their existence he attaches no importance to them. He evaluates other people and expects them to evaluate him by his behavior, his words and deeds. Because these represent the reality of himself and the reality of his bond with other people, it is difficult for him to understand that introverts have a legitimate claim to a different view.

But as one introvert expressed it to his sweetheart: "It doesn't matter what I say or do. I may be cross or indifferent: I may not even speak or seem to take any notice of you at times. But you must not let that matter because you know that I really love you. My love is not a show, it is something here inside that is true and real; the rest doesn't count."

There is no record of whether the sweetheart understood this, or what she thought of it. But it is the same

thought as Hamlet's, "For I have that within which passeth show." Probably this is the most difficult lesson that extraverts have to learn and unfortunately some of us never quite learn it. It is the lesson that overt harmony is not all there is to a relation: that what you experience subjectively is as important as what you say or do. The introvert supplies the love relationship with the inner sustenance, the extravert with the outer. Thus in marriage the psychological system is complete because it embraces both adaptive principles.

CHAPTER 13

RELATIONSHIPS: GROUPS

All those who live or work together tend to form some sort of living system just as the marriage partners form a living system. There are all kinds of systems based on cooperative adaptation, some of them lasting as in marriage, others temporary. They affect individuals in various ways.

Although we assume that everyone's type is based upon some, however slight, innate predisposition, it is certain as in the case of every biological process that the predisposition is subject to more or less extensive alteration by the environment. Because human nature is extremely plastic, every individual adapts not only in a characteristic way but according to the special requirements of different circumstances. Therefore in considering the types from the longer range of group relationships, we are able to discover interesting features which escaped us in our close-range scrutiny of individuals.

Mathematically the whole is merely the sum of its parts. But in biology the whole is not only more than the sum of its parts but often it is distinctly different. This principle applies not only to simple biological processes, but to the psychology of people in couples and groups.²⁷ Here the individual functions not entirely as a lone self but as part of a larger organism, just as a single body cell functions not as a discrete entity but as a part of the whole

body. This effect of the whole on the part is manifest everywhere in nature but is particularly important in mental and emotional processes. It accounts, perhaps, for the surprising ability of both types to adapt according to the opposite psychological principle under extraordinary conditions.

Strangely enough, when it is necessary for two people of the same type to live or work together, often one takes on the duties of the missing type, performing as best he can the accomplishment which is wanting. This is true especially in business and professional associations. An introvert business man tells me that he has learned to play an extravert role when he has important dealings with another introvert, striking rather a personal note as if casual rapport were his original accomplishment. He believes that the demands of his business have been an incentive for developing his latent capacity for rapport. On the other hand, when this man has to do with extraverts in business he says that he resumes his introvert role, as I have observed that he does when he is in company with his extravert wife.

There are other occasions when it is desirable for an introvert to assume an extraverted role perhaps only for a short time. For instance a father and his adult daughter, both introverts, were at home one Sunday afternoon, the extravert wife and mother being absent, when five callers arrived, none of them acquainted either with father or daughter. Such a situation was not exactly congenial to either and if the mother had been at home, father and daughter would have left the social responsibility to her. However, in her absence it was imperative that someone else play an extravert role.

Under such circumstances one of the two introverts, either the one more concerned for the success of the occasion or the more versatile personality, becomes more or less extraverted. In this case it was the father who was forced into the role of a gracious host to strangers. This man, usually reserved and laconic among all but his intimates, a man who remained in the background while his wife performed the social duties for the family, was able under the discipline of necessity to display an astonishing degree of casual rapport. He made his guests welcome, kept up a conversation and in general rose to the occasion in the manner of an extravert. Although this enforced extraversion of an introvert is not identical with the spontaneous extraversion of an extravert, it serves its purpose nevertheless.

Various other conditions affect individuals so as to bring about temporary alterations in version. An introvert friend tells me that when she travels she is ordinarily very reserved, rarely taking any notice of fellow travelers. This woman is extremely interested in France and speaks the language fluently. She thinks it is for this reason that when she sets foot on French soil she becomes, as it seems to her, decidedly extraverted, fraternizing with fellow travelers and anyone else she happens to meet in a way that is entirely different from her habit. She says that she is unable to explain this periodic change in herself, but finds it rather amusing.

It is partly because a person must be viewed as a component not only of one system of relationships but of many, with which he interacts in the most subtle ways, that it is difficult to classify types. When you observe a person you never know in how far he is influenced by the

fact that you are observing him, or in how far his response to you in a particular situation is in some respect different from his responses to others in other situations. Naturally it is difficult to distinguish between an introvert who is for the moment extraverted, and a habitual extravert, just as it is impossible to say whether a stranger who now appears introverted is a typical introvert or an extravert in a rare moment of introversion.

For myself, I find it particularly difficult to determine the type of men near my own age. This is because as we have seen, an extravert woman sometimes elicits rather a free personal response from introvert men. Often those men who are introverted with strangers of their own sex or with introvert women, may respond to an extraverted woman in quite a different way because her effect on them is different from the effect of other people. For that reason I am cautious in judging the type of men near my own age because what I take to be their habitual response to strangers may be a response specific either to women of my type or to me as an individual. Difficulties of this sort should not be minimized in connection with offhand judgment of type. Almost never do we observe human beings as we observe inanimate things: we observe them only in interaction with other people and it is extremely difficult to judge the effect of our own presence on them, just as it is difficult to judge to what degree their presence influences our own thoughts and actions. The more adaptable and altertensive a person is, the more difficult it is to classify him. And even less adaptable people do not reveal their type under all conditions. This fact leads to a very common mistaken assumption that most men and women are of mixed type, with only a few introverts and extraverts

at the extremes. A text in college psychology by R. S. Woodworth* dismissed Jung's typology on that ground.

It is even possible on rare occasions for introverts to appear extraverted with people whom they meet for the first time. A different example of this, which I have observed only once, was to me the most surprising of all type manifestations. It was the extraversion of an introvert girl with older people whom she met for the first time. Of course they were no ordinary strangers; they were the father and mother of this young woman's fiancé. Although she had never met them before she had incorporated her fiancé so completely that she was able to accept his parents as she had accepted him. Perhaps for this reason even at first meeting, this girl who is usually extremely reserved before strangers, was freely responsive to her future parents-in-law. With them she appeared as unreserved as with her fiancé.

It is evident that she saw these people not as ordinary strangers, as part of the alien objective world, but as part of the subjective world into which she had already incorporated her future husband. Because she had accepted them in advance she could be extraverted with them and her extraversion transformed her completely. Indeed it would have been difficult to convince anyone who did not understand the subtle transformation of which the introvert is capable, that this warmly responsive young woman was not an extravert. Yet from ordinary strangers I have seen her withdraw behind a wall of reserve through which hardly a glimmer of her personal charm could be caught. On these occasions she can be as silent and aloof as anyone I have ever met.

* Edition of 1929 (Henry Holt, publisher), page 559.

In general the introvert becomes extraverted spontaneously only when all is well subjectively and then only toward people to whom he is personally attached. On the contrary, the extravert becomes introverted spontaneously only toward people or situations which displease him, and then only when he is at peace, almost never when he is under emotional stress.

In addition to the various alterations in individuals just mentioned, there are manifestations of what might be called type reactions in whole groups of people, superimposed upon individual type differences. If we contrast the everyday behavior of people who live in crowded cities with that of farmers, plainsmen and others who dwell in isolation or in small groups, we find a difference in their casual social habits. Generally country people are eager for social intercourse even with strangers. It is the rule for people in sparsely settled territories to speak to everyone, stranger or friend on the highway, to fraternize with whomever they meet at the country store, church, post office or any public place. There is a spontaneous gregariousness among back country folk which seems to be a group phenomenon peculiar to the conditions of life in isolated regions. Even an introvert who lives far from centers of population may display considerable personal responsiveness toward strangers.

Let us contrast the casual gregariousness of country people with the behavior of those living in crowded cities. Many people who move from small towns where everyone is more or less responsive to his neighbor, to big cities, call city people heartless and inhuman because rarely do they appear to take any interest in others. New Yorkers, Londoners and Parisians go about the city seemingly obliv-

ious of the people around them. They ride in buses, eat in restaurants, walk in streets crowded with their fellows, yet each disregards the others almost as if they did not exist. Every man acts as if he were encased in an impenetrable capsule.

People frequently comment on this and speculate on what would happen if city people should suddenly emerge from their shells and take a neighborly interest in each other as people do in time of disaster, in earthquakes or floods or war.

What if they should? They would have neither the time to concentrate on their own affairs nor the energy to carry out their own projects. Their thoughts would be dissipated, their energies frittered away in the useless task of responding to the multitude around them. If individuals were not able to shut the city out, to make themselves impervious to any personal relation with their fellows, they would be swamped in the collective life. It is one thing to be a good neighbor to half a dozen farm families who live near by, but what would become of a man who tried to be a good neighbor to the three or four hundred families in his part of Manhattan? Under such conditions a sort of pseudo or formal introversion is the only means of rescuing the individual from the mass. In congested areas strange people are truly a sort of psychological menace to every individual, extravert as well as introvert. Without this automatic resistance to the constant invasion of individual continuity by the pandemonium of city life, an independent existence would be impossible. Only the restraint of the extravert tendency can preserve individual identity from evaporating in the dry heat of such overwhelming collectivity as that of a metropolis.

It seems reasonable to suppose, also, that people who live in institutions, orphanages, homes for the aged or crowded sanatoria where there is little privacy, might adopt formal introversion as a prophylaxis against nervous fatigue and the disruption of the individual life.

On the other hand, under conditions in which people have urgent need of each other as in pioneer communities or in common disasters, a corresponding formal or pseudo-extraversion is an expedient no less useful than introversion is useful under different conditions. A traveler described his experience in Germany in 1914 on the eve of the outbreak of war. He said that at that time the German people were overflowing with friendliness, that they talked to strangers in trains, shops and on street corners, that restaurants offered free refreshment to travelers and that people seemed to draw together as if the nation had suddenly become one fraternity. Why should this be?

Possibly it was because on the eve of a great national adventure on which the nation's future was staked, people needed each other as a traveler in dangerous territory needs companions. The perils which they were doomed to share evoked in the German people a common emotion which caught up individuals of both types in a sort of formal extraversion no less effective in that particular situation than formal introversion is effective in the everyday life of city-dwellers. Yet as we shall see, for the introvert, formal extraversion is no more identical with the extraversion of a normal extravert than the use of the right hand by a left-handed man is identical with the use of that hand by a right-handed man.

An interesting instance of type adaptation in groups is that reported in a study of American Indians by Dr.

Ruth Benedict, who uses Nietzsche's terms "Apollonian" and "Dionysian" to indicate the introvert and extravert attitudes respectively. Dr. Benedict says that the culture of the Pueblo Indians, among them the Hopis and Zunis of New Mexico, is Apollonian, while that of the Plains Indians is Dionysian. She emphasizes the fact that this difference has no geographical origin; that on the contrary, it has defied the tendency to break down under influences from neighboring tribes. She calls the Pueblo culture "a thoroughgoing institutionalized elaboration of the theme of sobriety and restraint in behavior." *

As an illustration, she describes the strict restraint at death ceremonials of the Pueblo of Isleta, New Mexico, which emphasize forgetting the dead and ceasing to grieve for them. According to Dr. Benedict, in this ceremony the priest makes a smudge from the combings of the dead man's hair; the bereaved person breathes this and will thereby cease to grieve. This ceremony contrasts sharply with death ceremonials of the Plains Indians whom Dr. Benedict has studied. These latter emphasize ostentatious demonstrations of mourning such as wailing, self-mutilation and destruction of the horses and personal property of the dead. I do not believe that I am mistaken in stating that Dr. Benedict described what Jung calls the extravert expression and demonstration which are characteristic of the death ceremonies of the Plains Indians, in contrast with the introversion and incorporation of grief which are characteristic of the sobriety and restraint of the Pueblo ceremonials.

* From "Configurations of Culture in North America," Ruth Benedict in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. 34, No. 1, p. 1. See also her "Patterns of Culture" (Houghton Mifflin).

Can this mean that individual type refers merely to transient adaptations to environmental conditions as in city or country life or to cultural patterns? By no means. An extravert can and does cease to perform his customary accomplishment (without necessarily performing the introvert accomplishment) and does adopt a sort of formal introversion when he is in danger of having his personal life disrupted, his independence compromised by the confusions of city or institutional life. An introvert can and does adopt a sort of formal extraversion in sparsely settled country, or on those occasions when he is brought face to face with a collective calamity such as war, flood or earthquake. Furthermore the majority of people, both extraverts and introverts, give formal assent to the institutions of their group, whether these be the introvert ceremonies of an Indian tribe or the extravert philosophy of an America University. For this reason extraverts are at some disadvantage in an introverted group, as introverts are at some disadvantage in our country. They may acquire the psychology of the oppressed.

The whole question hinges upon the utility of the two psychological principles in different situations. In some situations the preservation of subjective integrity is more urgent than the need for rapport; in other situations the latter is the more pressing need. Nevertheless the fact that everyone, regardless of his type, may appear to become extraverted or introverted at the behest of circumstance does not alter his habitual version nor the point of view characteristic of it.

Of the self-contained, world resistant New Yorkers who pour into Times Square every morning it is reasonable to suppose that as many are extraverts as introverts. The fact

that when he is not exercising his accomplishment, an extravert may put on the mantle of introversion has little or no effect on his own experience. Indeed the fact that either type can upon occasion take on the protective coloration of the opposite type is important chiefly from the standpoint of the group; its effect on the individual is incidental. In this respect formal extraversion and introversion contrast with the spontaneous alterations in version which were discussed earlier.

Formal extraversion amounts to little more than a lessening of resistance to strangers. It is not positive rapport with them, but rather a letting down of the bars against them. It is really a diminution of introversion with little or no corresponding increase of genuine extraversion. In sparsely settled country or in a calamity such as the outbreak of war, an introvert doubtless finds his strange fellows temporarily less threatening than heretofore and, on that account, has less need to maintain his customary defense against them.

On the other hand, the extravert who is ordinarily hospitable to contacts with strangers is forced to exert resistance against them when they surround him in such hoards as to menace his psychological independence. Therefore in crowded cities the extravert makes what appears to be an introvert response, in so far as introversion consists merely of resistance to invasion by the objective world. But this automatic reaction, like that of the introvert who appears to be extraverted, involves little positive accomplishment.

Perhaps these glimpses of the two principles as they are manifest in a variety of circumstances have served to illustrate the universal presence of the contrasting typical

forms of adaptation. Although the type responses just considered are relatively unimportant to the individual in that they have but little effect on his intimate conscious experience, they are interesting for the light they throw on the subject as a whole.

In so far as individuals are concerned, important psychological influences come chiefly from personal relations, particularly those based on mutual attraction. Normally marriage is the most influential of all relationships. Obviously this applies only to love marriages of long standing; it takes time for anyone to be greatly affected by a relationship and it must be a genuine relationship, not a formality.

In marriage based on true mutual devotion, the practice of cooperative adaptation seems to result in a psychological co-development, a blending and synthesis of personalities such that after ten or twenty years each partner has a definite psychological investment in the other, an investment which cannot be liquidated. It is as if the two had become unified so that permanent separation, as by the death of one partner, is like a surgical operation which destroys spiritual tissue and leaves permanent psychological scars. It is not for me to discuss the good or evil of the married state, but it is true that by living cooperatively in the synergism of marriage two people who love each other invest a part of themselves in the other partner, for better or worse. Whether or not they realize it, a true mental and emotional partnership gradually effects a synthesis of personalities so that each becomes mentally and emotionally a part of the other. And if the partners are honest and unprejudiced, gradually each will gain new insight into and added respect for the opposite psychological principle.

The extravert will come to respect the intensive relationship of which the introvert is capable, with its independence of external conditions, however irksome he may find the introvert's tendency to retreat into himself out of reach even of those he loves most. And the introvert will grow to respect the unfailing responsiveness which the extravert offers to all. However unwelcome the latter's unfaltering urge to communicate may be at times, the introvert will come to recognize its contribution to human relations. By recognizing the value of the other's mode of adaptation, each partner may discover, at last, the deficiency in his own. As a Mrs. Ex told me:

"I used to think I was being lovely the way I put myself out to talk to people and make them feel at ease when I didn't care a rap about them. But now I realize that one friendly word from my husband is worth ten from me and I sense the depth of his relations with other people and the shallowness of mine. Once I believed I was putting myself out for other people and that he was selfish in not doing so; now I know that he is simply being honest with himself. And in being honest with himself he is perhaps more honest with other people than I have ever been." Possibly this wife made the customary mistake of overvaluing the opposite standpoint when first she became clearly aware of its existence. Nevertheless her acknowledgment is of great merit even if it costs her some depreciation of her own standpoint.

I have the good fortune to know an introvert wife who has discovered the value of extraversion, not only in the ease and lightness which it brings to casual contacts but in what she called the humility with which extraverts discuss their mistakes and misdeeds.

"Extraverts have this great gift of humility in being able to speak freely of their shortcomings," she said. "This may not mean that they will be able to correct them, but at least they can speak frankly about things which an introvert could hardly bring himself to mention. I respect them for their humility which does so much to promote mutual understanding, bridging a gap between people that an introvert could not possibly bridge." Although she overvalued the extravert's native urge to unburden his mind, her ability to recognize superiority in the point of view alien to her own is evidence of wisdom and of altertendency.

Perhaps it is clear that not only because of their cooperative adaptation to the social system but because of their effect on each other, people need marriage partners of opposite type. Life demands to be lived fully according to both inner and outer realities, and the experience of living with a loved one who trusts a reality which we distrust helps us to a better insight into life. But not without painful sacrifice.

Although the marriage partners may truly love each other, although they are indispensable to each other, the very fact that they are fundamentally different leads in time to bitter misunderstandings even between people who are in every way suited to each other. For, obviously, some of the very differences which attracted them to each other make it difficult for them to live together harmoniously. This difficulty leads after a time to a condition of tension in which each partner experiences more or less dissatisfaction with the other, no matter how much he truly loves and truly needs that other. All this contributes to the psychological crisis of marriage, the so-called disillusion.

sionment when each spouse discovers that the other is quite different from what he had imagined.

Now this crisis, which we experience as disappointment in and dissatisfaction with the other partner, should mark the beginning of an honest realization of our own limitations. Nowhere are these thrown into such sharp focus as in marriage. Whatever our weaknesses and shortcomings may be, however well we may have concealed them from the world and from ourselves, sooner or later they will reveal themselves in married life. For normal marriage is a solvent of sham and it is impossible for two people to live in cooperative adaptation without discovering all each other's shortcomings. Actually it is rarely the discovery of the other's shortcomings which causes the greatest pain in marriage; it is the discovery of our own. Most of us postpone this discovery as long as possible by the simple device of blaming all our difficulties on the other partner, often by trying to make him over to suit ourselves. This is the third reason for trying to change a spouse, mentioned in the preceding chapter (See page 209). Nevertheless, only one who is hopelessly egocentric can fail to realize, after a time, that the fault lies as much in his own pettiness and want of understanding, his own unconscious selfishness and lack of humility as in that of his spouse. There are many painful realities in life but the reality of our own weaknesses and shortcomings is perhaps as painful as any that most of us are ever forced to face.

If there is fundamental incompatibility between the partners, or if either is hopelessly handicapped by a "sore" ego this realization never dawns. For the weak character or the weak partnership cannot stand the strain of so dras-

tic a disclosure. But on people who are intelligent, well-mated and emotionally balanced, the crisis in their relationship should shed enlightenment. Through it they will learn that genuine love is not built on the sand of romantic illusions but on the solid rock of honest understanding. There is no genuine understanding and no real devotion where there is strong egocentrism. An egocentric's love may be only another manifestation of selfishness, and a person with a "sore" ego cannot forget self long enough to take an honest interest in anyone, even one he professes to love. Yet for those who are mentally and emotionally mature, the love relationship offers every opportunity for individual evolution.

There is no finer discipline, no more useful moral education than that which comes from insight into a point of view alien to one's own. In marriage most of us find that discipline which slowly shrinks youthful egocentrism in the astringent of our common life. No normal extravert who has lived ten years with a beloved introvert can fail to gain some insight into the reality of introversion, however queer some of its manifestations may appear. Under similar conditions, no normal introvert can fail to gain some insight into the value of extraversion, however trying he may find many of its works. Thus each will come to acknowledge the fallibility of his own scale of value which formerly seemed to him unquestionably correct. This the two wives quoted above had done.

Marriage as a psychological synergism affords every opportunity for bringing the extravert face to face with the introvert principle not only in his partner but also, finally, in himself; likewise the introvert face to face with the extravert principle. If people have healthy minds and

emotional balance they may learn gradually to face the opposite reality, partly at least, by confronting the problems which arise from living with a loved person of opposite type.

For we know that our personalities contain the rudiments of both types, just as our bodies contain rudiments of both sexes. Yet the mind-ego is immeasurably more flexible than the body, and there is no question of a permanent exclusion of the opposite psychological principle, only a relative dominance of one over the other.

A young extravert with little or no introversion, or a young introvert with little or no extraversion is like a flat disk which has length and breadth but insufficient thickness. It cannot stand alone but must be supported by a prop. If the disk could grow thicker and so develop its third dimension, it would be able to dispense with props and stand alone. In marriage introverts and extraverts act as props for each other so that as a couple they stand alone, although separately each would fall for lack of the other. When an introvert develops the extraverted side of his personality to a degree commensurate with the development of his introverted side, he achieves a complete, three-dimensional personality as does the extravert who so develops his introvert side. Thus each learns, at last, not only to stand alone but to be a better spouse because he is a better balanced individual.

CHAPTER 14

DEVELOPING THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF SELF AMBIVERSION

It sometimes happens that after years of marriage, a husband and wife give the appearance of having exchanged places with respect to type. One of the peculiar effects of cooperative adaptation is that as one partner grows more extraverted the other grows more introverted. I know a couple of whom the wife, an extravert of magnetic personality, was until recent years extremely lively and talkative in almost any company. Now, after fifteen years of marriage, the husband has developed considerable extraversion and is able to make personal contact with most people. When the two are with a group of strangers or others in whom neither has a personal interest, it is amusing to see that now it is often the husband who rises to the occasion while the wife, relieved of her former social responsibility, makes little outward response.

Yet it is obvious to her friends that she has lost none of her gift for rapport. On the other hand, her husband has lost none of his intensity or his capacity for incorporation. Each has simply developed the other side of the self. Usually, in this case, both marriage partners appear to the casual observer as extraverts.

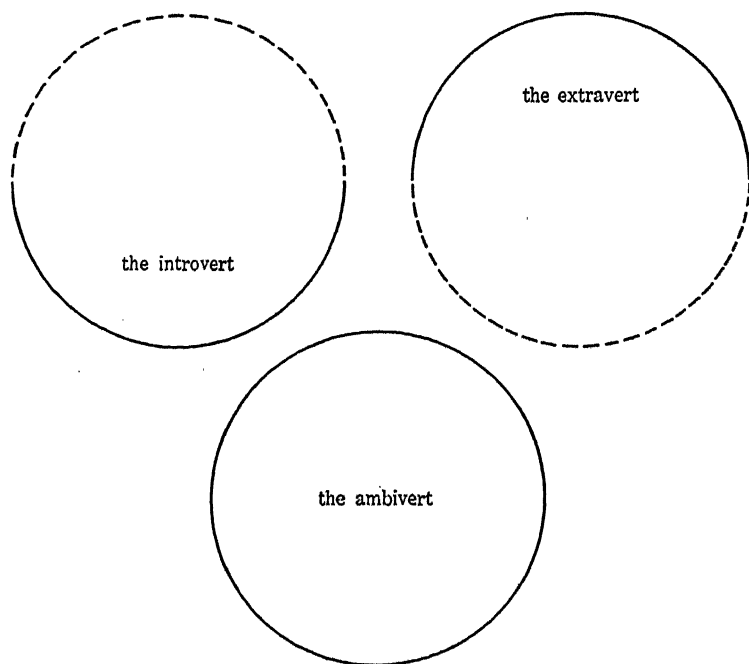
It must not be supposed that the normal development of the undeveloped side of the self in any way diminishes the positive ability to perform the original accomplish-

ment. When a man, originally an introvert, develops his extraverted side so that he becomes indistinguishable under ordinary circumstances from an extravert, it does not indicate that he has lost his talent for incorporation. It is true that no one can perform the introvert and extravert accomplishments simultaneously, any more than he can inhale and exhale simultaneously. Nevertheless, the ability to incorporate and to live an intensely responsive inner life is not diminished by the additional ability to establish rapport and to live extensively on the plane of objective response, any more than an increased acquaintance with a foreign language necessarily decreases a man's ability to speak his own.

Fundamentally, extraversion and introversion are positive psychological processes and the ability to practice one does not diminish the ability to practice the other. Therefore, an ambivert (from the Latin "ambo" both) is not a person who is neither an extravert nor an introvert, as some psychologists suppose,²⁸ but one who is both, although a man who has achieved the psychological balance which enables him to dispose of either form of adaptation may appear to be neither extravert nor introvert. These individuals were referred to where it was hinted that some people, usually those over forty years of age, have grown beyond the limits of type.

Now we realize why it is impossible to represent introversion and extraversion on a single linear scale with ambiversion as a point midway, as normal intelligence is midway between genius and feeble-mindedness. Ambiversion is completeness; it is not neutrality. There are several ways of interpreting introversion and extraversion. The way chosen here is that of describing the two proc-

esses figuratively as two "sides" of the self, each of which needs to be developed fully according to its measure. If we wished to represent extraversion and introversion graphically in two dimensions we could make a circle to



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stand for the whole of the self's development. Let us draw half the circle as a continuous line to represent the differentiated side of the self, letting a dotted line represent the undifferentiated side. The undeveloped side is not part of the ego proper; it lives a germinal life, for the most part unconscious. In order to represent the development of the

individual beyond extraversion or introversion, we should fill in the dotted line in our diagram so as to complete the circle.

It is necessary to stress the fact that a person must live his type, that he must be either an extravert or an introvert before he can become an ambivert. Among experts there is debate as to whether, theoretically, a person could be born an ambivert; in practice however, we may disregard such problems. Born ambiverts may exist, but the writer has never met or heard of one. Introversion and extraversion are phases of psychological development. Just as it is impossible to become an adult without first living through childhood, it is impossible to attain the mature psychological development which ambiversion represents without passing through the intervening phases. It is as if there were a choice of routes to the state of ambiversion so that one may arrive either via introversion, or via extraversion. But it would be impossible to skip stages in the process of individual evolution of which being a type is one.

Although the person who develops his "opposite side" loses nothing in so far as positive accomplishment is concerned, he does undergo a noticeable change. This is because, as the reader knows, introversion includes not only positive tendencies but the negative tendency to shrink from contact with objective "realities" just as extraversion involves shrinking from subjective "realities." In so far as extraversion and introversion involve negative processes, the development of ambiversion does diminish the latter and to that extent alters personality for the better. The introvert who has, at last, conquered his distrust of the external world now usually appears as extra-

verted as an extravert, and therefore loses some of the traits which stamped him as a definite type. Also the extravert who no longer recoils from his inner life appears less exuberantly gregarious, less dependent on rapport than formerly. Thus he too loses some tokens of his type.

But let no one imagine that a personality thereby forfeits any genuine distinctiveness or that ambiversion draws men toward a dead level of similarity. On the contrary, there is nothing truly individual about the manifestations either of extraversion or introversion. These are similar in everybody, bearing no essential relation to the more individual characteristics with which they combine. Indeed a person's liberation from the type mold in which he began life has the effect of permitting him to become more flexible, hence more individual than ever before. For the ambivert's ability to employ both modes of adaptation gives him greater freedom and versatility, elevating him to the status of a true individual instead of holding him fixed in the type mold.

Although the development of the opposite side of the self alters certain traits, this is the alteration of growth and development. Obviously no personality is static; it is a living force which undergoes constant transformation, not a thing which ever reaches a state of inertia. If a personality is not growing normally it may be regressing to a lower state. Therefore the rounding out of the personality, with its increasing liberation from type restrictions, is a process of healthy change which each of us should recognize and welcome in others as well as in ourselves.

As we go through life most of us find ourselves growing more or less gregarious or cultivating tastes and interests which make us seem different from our more youthful

selves. It is inevitable that different stages of life should lead to emphasis on different interests and occupations even apart from the influences which we are now considering, for obviously the child cannot share the occupations of the adolescent, nor the adolescent those of the man of sixty. But in addition to this, the development of the other side of the self, by freeing a man from his former dependence on a single form of psychological adaptation to a more complete repertory of adjustment, enables him to gain new interests and follow new possibilities, with a consequent loss of some old habits and interests.

Generally these alterations in personality come gradually although in some people there may be an apparently sudden change. I know a musician, an introvert, who has always been extremely reticent on personal matters even with his wife, to whom he is devoted and from whom he invariably seeks advice on business matters. When he was in the late forties, a crisis in his career caused him emotional stress so severe that he was brought to the verge of what is often called a nervous breakdown. During this crisis, which ordinarily would have caused him to retreat from all contact and to become more than usually uncommunicative, he seemed to undergo an alteration in temperament. Rather suddenly he began to talk freely about himself. He spoke of personal matters at first only to his wife, who learned facts about his relations with friends and associates which he had hardly hinted in twenty years of married life.

Once the floodgates of expression were opened this man began to talk freely to almost everyone. To the physician, a stranger who attended him, he told the whole story of his experience. Even with casual acquaintances to whom

he did not actually reveal his intimate affairs, he became much more conversable. Doubtless this man had begun to develop the other side of his personality long before, but from the casual observer's point of view the change was almost an overnight transformation. With this change came relief of the nervous tension and, apparently, complete recovery.

A transformation so sudden might be mistaken for an abnormal manifestation; indeed people might believe that such a man was out of his mind. But in this case, the change indicated movement forward to a higher state of self-development rather than backward to a psychopathic condition. The development of the formerly undeveloped side of the self is usually a healthy sign, a sign of genuine achievement.

Similar to this transformation of an introvert has been the alteration in the personality of an extravert woman, although in her case the change has been gradual. As a girl she was a typical extravert, an exceedingly lively, demonstrative and gregarious person.

Now that she is middle-aged she is no longer unfailingly talkative and demonstrative. Her vivacious response glows less frequently for strangers. Yet this is no simple loss which might be attributed to the banking of youth's fires and a consequent waning of enthusiasm. For something positive has taken its place: something which might be called an inner enthusiasm has replaced the outward enthusiasm, although the former is not apparent to everyone as was the latter.

With this has come a new serenity, an inner poise which, together with the inner warmth, give her personality a suggestion of depth which was formerly wanting. It is as

if what was apparent on the surface had attained a solid backing, as if there were now weight and intensity where formerly there was only buoyancy. It is difficult to describe such a change because it is an inward change, meaningful chiefly in the woman's own life and in the lives of her intimates. Perhaps some people notice only her loss of vivacity and superficial responsiveness and, not recognizing the inner compensation, feel that her personality has lost some of its charm. Yet her new serenity is based not on indifference but on depth; it is an unseen good which has replaced one which was apparent to all. Because of the possibility of this development, in marriages of people past middle life the rule of type polarity may not always hold.

No one could attain to the ambivert state by repressing his normal inclinations or forcing himself to act according to the opposite pattern. No extravert could develop his introvert side merely by shunning personal contacts and repressing his natural self-expression. Nor could an introvert develop his extravert side by forcing himself to regale every stranger with expressions of his most important thoughts and feelings. In either case the person would be acting a role and violating his nature.

Any coercion on the part of a parent to make a child of different type conform to the parent's own type of adaptation is particularly noxious. I know a family in which, of two sons near the same age, one is an introvert, the other an extravert. The mother is also extraverted. She is a devoted mother, anxious that her two boys develop fine characters. But because of her natural extravert bias she feels that her introvert son is somewhat inferior to his brother, and in her anxiety to improve him she has

held his brother's sociability up to him as a model. Perhaps the introvert boy senses that his mother sees only his negative side and is unable to appreciate his positive value, or possibly she has undermined his self-confidence and convinced him that he is truly inferior. In either case her attempt to force the boy to imitate his brother is likely to have a bad effect on his development. Indeed any denigration of the introvert's point of view not only undermines his self-confidence but tends to make him less rather than more sociable. If the mother should succeed in coercing her boy to live in such a way as to violate his own nature she might do serious harm to his character. The development of ambiversion is a process of amplification, not amputation. It is a slow growth, like the unfolding of blossoms, which cannot be forced but must be allowed to proceed according to the laws of its own nature.

It is evident that there can be no single rule of development which is identical for everyone. If in the course of developing his extravert side, the introvert needs to break through his subjective intensity in order to relate positively to the external world, the opposite must be true for the extravert. In developing his introvert side the extravert must break the bonds of his dependence on the external world and gain courage to face the intensity of the inner life.

It is a mark of achievement for an introvert to let down his wall of reserve and make a free personal response to all sorts of people. Thus he gains an extensive interest, a breadth of view which supplements without supplanting his intensity and emotional depth. Thus he overcomes his distrust of the things without, with no loss of confidence in the things within. Truly in developing ambiversion, the

introvert accomplishes the great feat of getting out of himself.

But what a mistake it would be to conclude that this getting out into the world, this broadening and thinning of attention is a universal panacea. For the extravert, progress in individual development is the exact reverse, leading him in a different direction, namely toward the inner rather than the outer world. His need is to develop depth in addition to breadth; to concentrate, to intensify rather than to expand.

For this reason, the extravert's development involves a form of curtailment for the purpose of enriching and fortifying his inner life. It entails a natural diminution but in no sense a restraint of his outpourings of expression, to the end that he may pay attention to the subjective components of experience. He needs to develop fewer and more intense interests, fewer and more intense personal relations. He needs to withdraw from some of the forms of expression which hold him fast in the treadmill of external relations, to take time to draw his psychological breath. Thus he will find himself more frequently introverted; will ruminate more, will commune with himself, will invite his soul. Gradually he will loosen the bonds which shackled him to the external aspect of experience and will gain a new spiritual independence. Gradually, then, he will find himself. He will learn to face his subjective life fearlessly and to rely upon inner sources for some of his psychological sustenance rather than having to beg that sustenance of the outside world. And he will overcome his distrust of inner realities without losing any of his natural ability to relate to people. The great difference will be that now his relation will be a voluntary gift

of genuine interest and response, in contrast with his former, fundamentally egoistic, dependence on people.

The progress of one type becomes then, the stagnation of the other. It is an accomplishment for an Englishman to learn French and for a Frenchman to learn English; it is no accomplishment for either to go on speaking his own language. The same is true of the extravert and the introvert. This illustrates the folly of seeking a single moral or psychological prescription for all men. The idea that there is only one track of development, one form of ethical progress is an illusion of our naturally egocentric mind, which views all men from its own point of vantage and would impose upon all its private nostrums. However convenient such uniformity would be, we must face the fact that it is fiction.

There are different roads toward the goal of individual completeness, and the road which leads me toward it may lead you away from it. If I am in San Francisco and you are in New York and we wish to meet in Chicago, I must travel eastward, but you must travel in the opposite direction. If I insisted that you travel eastward too, because from my point of view that is the right way to reach our common goal, I should be no more mistaken than are those who hold that a single principle of development applies to all individuals.

The great lesson of our time is the lesson that there is no simple right and wrong, no categorical good and bad where the individual is concerned. The individual must be free to develop in his own way: and what is good for me may be bad for you. Naturally, we must have laws which attach the label "bad" to certain acts. But laws are collective; they apply to the mass. The individual should not

only avoid what is bad for all men but should seek a higher good according to his own moral capacity, his sense of individual responsibility. In overcoming egocentrism, only one type of person reaches outside himself to a broader relation to the external world. The other reaches inside himself to a deeper understanding of his own experience which is not only his, but part of the inner spirit of the whole human race. Thus the extravert will learn to reach beyond self-interest to a deeper appreciation of life and a more intense relation with his fellow men.

Although an ambivert might attain such balanced development that he could introvert or extravert with equal facility, according to the requirements of different conditions, I believe that most people cling at times a little more closely to the context which is primary in their experience. For it seems that the psychological home of the former extravert will always be his relation to the external world to which he will return at times as a wanderer returns, a home for which he will bear always a certain nostalgia. Nevertheless he will recognize it as a typical nostalgia and not confuse it with superiority of mind or character. Perhaps too, the former introvert will always look upon the subjective domain as his psychological home. Nevertheless the ambivert will have attained a depth and breadth of mental vision impossible to those whose experience is bound to a single aspect of what we call reality.

The reader now realizes that despite the fact that the outward manifestations of the two accomplishments are so different, rapport and incorporation may be viewed as the same fundamental process, reversed. That is, basically incorporation amounts to an inner rapport, while rapport amounts to an outer incorporation. For the introvert does

form connections with the external world, only it is chiefly by the process of assimilating it to an inner life. So does the extravert form connections with the subjective world, only it is chiefly by translating subjective responses into objective relations.

Jung's great work "Psychological Types" is subtitled "The psychology of individuation." Individuation is the Jungian term for the process described here as spiritual evolution, a process which includes evolution from ego-centrism to "altertendency." The task of developing the undeveloped side of the self is part of the task of rising from the condition of a type, that is an unself-conscious collective being, to the status of a highly conscious individual. And having achieved liberation from a one-sided extraversion or introversion during the first half of life, men and women may look forward to a development in which, with the waning of physical power, will come a waxing of spiritual and mental power.

The achievement of ambiversion marks a step in the liberation of the mind from prejudice and distrust which are trammels of spiritual evolution and the good life. Such liberation cannot come without self-knowledge. And our most practical aids to self-knowledge are contributions of modern psychology, as new as Jung's explanation of the version types. Yet the ideal itself has been familiar since the time of Socrates, who hoped that by coming to know himself he might come to know other men and even, at last, to know God. Since his time the wisest men have repeated the advice, "Know thyself," but often that advice was dismissed as useless on the ground that it was too difficult to follow.

Only within the past few years have students of human

nature learned enough about the hidden motives which move beneath the surface of conduct, about the dark, unconscious wellsprings of thought and action, to make it possible for any of us to know himself. It is one thing to exhort a man to climb out of the hole in which he finds himself, and another thing to put within his grasp the means of doing it. Modern psychology offers us something more than the inspiration to know ourselves; it offers the means: something more than a remote ideal; it offers practical methods of realizing that ideal.

No one can profit by those methods who cannot learn to criticize himself as impartially as he once criticized others. As a rule, it is only when some crisis in a relationship forces a man to the wall, compelling self-criticism as a last resort, that he is driven to face that most painful of all realities, the reality of himself. Only when a person can face, without recoiling, the fact that beneath the neat façade not only of his good behavior but his good intentions, his blameless motives, lies the same egocentric bias which looms so clearly in others; only when he can admit that his own viewpoint is as full of flaws as the viewpoints of other men; only then can he begin to outgrow the limitations of type and to become a spiritually mature, self-consciously responsible being. And only then can he bring himself to accord others, as biased as he was, the same honest tolerance, the same charity and good will which he expects of them.

In short, only after human beings develop a measure of "altertendency" can they begin honestly and sincerely to love one another. That is because, empty words aside, your neighbor like yourself, is far from lovable under all conditions, and in order sincerely to love him you must

first learn to understand him. And unless a man understands himself, how can he hope to understand anyone else? Understanding others is the only sure basis of harmony in human relations. But understanding yourself is the basis of all understanding, self-knowledge the one sure foundation of all knowledge. Many of us, including the writer, are only beginning to appreciate the great truth that without self-knowledge every fact suffers distortion by the lens of prejudices and unrecognized assumptions through which we view it, that every human relationship is specked by the motes which dance before our own eyes.

Self-knowledge differs from all other knowledge in that, clarifying understanding at its very source, its influence permeates our whole outlook on life and transforms every relation with our fellow beings. That is why it has the power to change men's lives. For our lives do change, and the whole perspective of human relations shifts as soon as we discover, for ourselves, that it was only in an unconscious effort to continue as irresponsible moral nurslings that we sought to make others, our spouses, our friends, our fellow-workers, even our helpless children, responsible for our mistakes.

In its broader aspects, the evolution of "altertendency" is beyond the scope of this book, being the subject of a sequel. But understanding the types of human nature is the beginning of that understanding of ourselves and others which can remake our lives. And in that gradual transformation, gradually each of us may outgrow his type, may become at last ambivert.

The ambivert is not only more freely adaptable to every circumstance, more versatile in meeting the demands of everyday existence, but he has greater insight into the

subtleties of experience, fuller consciousness of life. For he is now awake to the nature of reality in both its aspects, not only to the outer world with its objective realities but to the inner world with its subjective realities; not only to the relation of himself with other selves but to the relation of himself with the intangible qualities of the human spirit. These nourish and sustain the mind and are no less necessary to a complete life than the visible world around us. The ambivert, able to face both realities, will gain with his increased range of vision, new confidence in his destiny as an individual, new responsibility in his relations with others and new enthusiasm for every adventure in life.

CHAPTER SUMMARIES

CHAPTER SUMMARIES

Chapter 1. The two types of people.

Questions which occur to everyone in dealing with people.
Universal recognition of temperamental (psychological) types.

Pavlov's discovery of the types in dogs.

Correspondence of temperament with physique, researches of Kretschmer.

Jung's discovery of the principle which explains type differences.

Examples of confusion among American psychologists because of failure to grasp basic principle.

Chapter 2. How the types look to the world, four portrait sketches.

Objections to descriptive sketches of types of human nature.
Sole value of the sketches in their utility as basis of comparison with reader's experience.

The sketches:

Mrs. Ex, an extravert.

Mrs. Inn, an introvert.

Mr. Eye, an introvert.

Mr. E, an extravert.

The credentials of the two types.

Chapter 3. How the types look to the world, salient traits.

Basic characteristics distinct from extravert and introvert traits which refer chiefly (1) to temperament and (2) to native point of view.

Fundamental life objectives, fundamental character and moral nature independent of type.

Traits, descriptions of behavior meaningless unless viewed in relation to the individual's total life situation.

Importance of determining whether a trait is normal (adaptive) or abnormal (neurotic).

Sociability of extraverts and introverts.

The traits and temperamental scales of extraverts and introverts page 41.

Egoism, egocentrism and the "sore" ego.

Chapter 4. Your Self.

The hypothesis of the self.

Evolution of the mind-ego.

The self as a continuum contrasted with the biological continuum.

Three steps in evolution of the self:

Unconsciousness of self, the collective stage.

Personal egocentric stage.

Relatively "altertensive" stage.

Concept of whole as opposed to part view of the self.

Difference between extravert and introvert abnormality (nervous breakdown).

Summary pages 68-69.

Chapter 5. How the world looks to the types. The two "contexts."

The two domains or contexts of experience, subjective and objective. Diagram page 72.

Each type views one as a continuum, the other only in part segments.

Dependence of each on his own context.

Contrasting world views in the intellectual field:

Idealist versus materialist philosophy.

Example, Marx's view of Hegelian dialectic.

Need for a philosophy which embraces both principles.

Chapter 6. How the types deal with experience. The two accomplishments.

The extravert's accomplishment which is here called rapport.

The introvert's, here called incorporation.

Negative aspects of the two accomplishments:

Rapport involves resistance to subjective influences.

Incorporation involves resistance to objective influences.

The accomplishment and the two "sides" of the self.

Chapter 7. Self-expression and the spoken word.

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Language most differentiated means of:

Producing rapport.

Transposing subjective effects into objective context.

Rule in personal responses:

Extraverts express themselves in proportion to the importance of response.

Introverts in inverse proportion to the importance of response.

Self-expression with respect to an individual's work.

Exaggerated verbal self-expression as compensation.

Public speaking and the stage.

Chapter 8. Self-expression. The quick and the deliberate types.

Introvert's deliberation in self-expression:

In responding to strangers.

In complaints.

In declaring love.

Self-expression in writing.

Taciturnity in strange company versus thoughtless chatter of the extravert.

Proportion of expression to incorporation and the extravert's deliberation in facing his subjective life.

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Chapter 9. The more and the less sensitive person.

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Acuteness (not related to psychological type).

Sensitivity as

Tendency to recoil from external influences.

Susceptibility to impressions, characteristic of introvert.

The "deep" and the "shallow" type. Intensity, extensity.

Effect of sorrow and disappointment, the cynic and the misanthrope.

Outer reaction versus the inner effect.

Quotation from "Psychological Types."

Chapter 10. Two viewpoints: how the types judge and misjudge each other.

Thought and action in relation to the two contexts.

How people of different type are likely to misjudge each other.

Unsociability versus hypocrisy and the overwhelming effect of extraversion.

Vanity and egotism.

Appreciation.

Disingenuousness.

Moodiness and sullenness.

The two standards of tact.

Extensity versus intensity.

Misinterpretations of expressions of feeling.

Possible misinterpretations of the theory:

That introverts have:

Better emotional control.

More "idealism."

That extraverts are:

More sensuous.

More humanitarian.

Chapter 11. Everyday dealings: what to expect and what not to expect of the two types.

Understanding people.

Rule in dealing with extraverts: never elude; with introverts: never intrude.

Personal pressure.

Compliments.

Press relations.

Self-confidence.

Confession.

The subjective wall as a psychological resource.

Cheering the extravert and the introvert.

Further discussion of contrast between the types in emotional distress.

Introverts' dependence on intimates: traveling alone, etc.

Parent-child relationships.

Further discussion of the mood scale in introverts.

Chapter 12. Relationships, marriage. What each type contributes to and expects from a relationship.

Polarity of psychological type in love relationships.

Cooperative adaptation, marriage as a psychological synergism.

Attraction of opposites, to what it does and does not apply.

Evolution of the individual.

Mutual effects, the contribution of each type to a relationship.

What each type finds most pleasing and most displeasing in the opposite type.

Limitation of each type in personal relations, with emphasis on the extravert's handicap.

Chapter 13. Relationships. Groups.

Effect of the whole on the part.

Ability of both types to alter version under special conditions.

Difficulty of classifying types.

The contrasting typical standpoints in the group:

In sparsely settled country and in cities.

In disasters.

Contrasting cultures in American Indian tribes.

Group standpoints unimportant to the individual but necessary as adaptive expedients.

Effect of marriage relationship on individuals.

Suggested interpretation of the need for the complementary principles in marriage.

Chapter 14. Developing the opposite side of the self: the complete life, ambiversion.

Apparent type exchanges in married couples.

Ambiversion: neutrality versus completeness.

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Alterations in personality of the ambivert:

Example of apparently sudden change.

Example of gradual change.

Natural development versus forced alterations.

Impossibility of finding a single prescription for individual evolution.

Self-knowledge and "altertendency."

The advantages of ambiversion.

SUGGESTED READING

SUGGESTED READING

- BACON, SIR FRANCIS: Essay "Of Friendship."
- BELLAMAN, HENRY: "Too many words" (poem) from "Cups of Illusion" (Houghton Mifflin).
- "Book of Marriage," Count Herman Keyserling editor (Harcourt, Brace).
- BUCK, PEARL: "Fighting Angel" (a great biography of an introvert man, the author's father).
- BUCK, PEARL: "The Exile" (a great biography of an extravert woman, the author's mother). Both published by John Day in association with Reynal and Hitchcock.
- CURIE, EVE: "Madame Curie" (Doubleday Doran) (biography of an introvert genius).
- DICKINSON, EMILY: "Exclusion" (poem) in "World's Best Poems" (Bonibooks 1929).
- ELLIS, HAVELOCK: "My Life" (autobiography of an introvert man).
- H. D. (HILDA DOOLITTLE): Poem II in "American Poetry 1922" (Harcourt, Brace).
- HAGEDORN, HERMANN: Biography of Edwin Arlington Robinson (Macmillan). (An introvert poet's life.)
- HAMILTON, GAIL: "A Complaint of Friends" in "The Wit and Humor of America" (Thwing Co. Funk and Wagnalls).
- JUNG, C. G.: "Psychological Types" (Harcourt, Brace) and see below "Problems of Personality."
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- MASTERS, EDGAR LEE: "Silence" (poem) from author's "Songs and Satires" (Macmillan).
- POWYS, JOHN COWPER: "Autobiography" and "The Philosophy of Solitude" (Simon and Schuster).
- "Problems of Personality" in honor of Morton Prince, article by C. G. JUNG (K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, London).

RANK, OTTO: "Art and Artist" (A. A. Knopf).

RILKE, RAINER MARIA: "Duino Elegies" (W. W. Norton).

ROBINSON, EDWIN ARLINGTON: Biography by H. HAGEDORN (Macmillan).

SANTAYANA, GEORGE: "The Last Puritan" (novel about an introvert man) (Scribner's).

SHAKESPEARE'S "Hamlet," Act I, scene II, Hamlet's reply to his mother.

WELLS, H. G.: "Experiment in Autobiography" (Macmillan) (autobiography of an extravert man).

NOTE ON USE OF THE TERMS
“SUBJECTIVE” AND “OBJECTIVE”

NOTE ON USE OF THE TERMS "SUBJECTIVE" AND "OBJECTIVE"

The adjectives "subjective" and "objective" (see page 51) have several shades of meaning and must be interpreted according to the universe of discourse in which they appear. Most European psychologists and philosophers including Jung use "subjective" to mean simply "of or pertaining to the subject knowing" and "objective" to mean "of or pertaining to the object known." However at present in the United States and according to at least one article, in Canada * few writers on psychology use the words in their pristine sense. Indeed for many educated Americans the words have lost this meaning and are now used almost entirely according to another of their definitions. "Subjective" is used commonly to mean "affected by personal bias or limitation" and "objective" to describe an individual who is free to face facts as they are, to see them undistorted by emotion or prejudice.

Correct usage admits both definitions. But some writers have gone further and mistaken "subjective" for a synonym of "egocentric" or even for plain "selfish," a usage which is inadmissible and cannot be condemned too strongly. This confusion in terms is responsible, at least in part, for some of the misunderstanding which Jung's work has suffered. As shocking an example of that misunderstanding as has appeared in recent years is a book in which an eminent American psychologist used introversion as a synonym for selfishness and extraversion for unselfishness. This author even went so far as to assert that "introverted" is the "technical psychological term"

* W. Line and J. D. M. Griffin, "The objective determination of factors underlying mental health" in *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 91 (1935), page 833.

(sic) for self-centered.* Such misuse of Jungian terms infects the minds of readers with a form of confusion which is difficult to remedy.

* "Return to Religion" by Henry C. Link, Macmillan, 1936, page 39.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

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2. Davis, F. B., and Rulon, P. J., "Gossip and the Introvert," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, vol. 30, No. 1, page 17 (1935).
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5. Conklin, E. S., Byrom, M. E., and Knips, Alta, "Some Mental Effects of Menstruation," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 34, page 357 (1927).
6. Gesell, Arnold, "Early Evidences of Individuality in the Human Infant," *Scientific Monthly*, vol. 45, page 217 (1937).
7. Lehman and Anderson, "Participation vs. Solitariness in Play," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 34, page 279 (1927).
8. Korzybski, Alfred, "Science and Sanity," International Non-Aristotelian Publishing Company (The Science Press, New York), chapter 1.
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11. Piaget, Jean, "Judgment and Reasoning in the Child," Harcourt, Brace and Company, page 257.
12. Korzybski, *op. cit.*

13. Abeles and Schilder, "Psychogenic Loss of Personal Identity," Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry, vol. 34, No. 3, page 587 (1935).
14. Prince, Morton, "Dissociation of a Personality," Longmans, Green (1930).
15. Franz, S. I., "Persons One and Three," Whittlesey House (1933).
16. "Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes," International Publishers, page 375.
17. Life Magazine, *loc. cit.*
18. Jung, Carl Gustav, "Psychological Types," page 547. Harcourt, Brace and Co.
19. Jung, *ibid.*, page 417.
20. Eddington, A. S., "Nature of the Physical World," The Macmillan Company (1928).
21. Jung, *op. cit.*
22. Korzybski, *op. cit.*
23. Note: This report is hearsay; the writer was not acquainted with the subject.
24. Jung, *op. cit.*, pages 339 and 386.
25. Schooley, Mary, "Personality Resemblances among Married Couples," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, vol. XXXI, No. 3 (October-December, 1936), page 340.
26. Kretschmer, Ernst, "Physical and Spiritual Harmony in Marriage," in "The Book of Marriage," edited by Hermann A. Keyserling, Blue Ribbon Books (1931).
27. Wallis, W. D., "The Social Group as an Entity," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, vol. 29, No. 4 (1935), page 367.
28. Woodworth, R. S., "Psychology," Henry Holt (1929), page 559.

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